University of Alberta

# The Impact of Capital on Resettlement Outcomes among Adult Refugees in Canada

by

Navjot K. Lamba

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology

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Navjot K. Lamba

15219 - 124 Street
Edmonton, Alberta
T5X - 1Z4

March 12, 2002

**University of Alberta**

**Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research**

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled *The Impact of Capital on Resettlement Outcomes among Adult Refugees in Canada* submitted by Navjot K. Lamba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Harvey Krahn

Dr. Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban

Dr. Raymond Morrow

Dr. Linda Ogilvie

Dr. Peter Li
University of Saskatchewan

Date: Feb. 8, 2002

## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the experiences of 525 adult refugees who arrived in Canada in the 1990s. The analysis focusses on the value of a refugee's network structure and human capital in shaping resettlement outcomes. The thesis adds to our understanding of refugee resettlement in three ways. First, it provides a detailed description of refugees' surviving and emerging familial and extra-familial network structures in Canada. Employing a multi-step multiple regression analysis, the thesis then investigates the impacts of networks and other forms of potential capital (human and economic capital) on four resettlement outcomes: quality of employment, annual household income, home ownership and self-identification as a Canadian. Results show that in-group ties, specifically close family and co-ethnic friends, have a positive impact on employment outcomes, income levels, and purchasing power toward buying a home. However, constrained by a combination of structural barriers, a significant proportion of refugees find that their human capital has virtually no power in the Canadian labour market, and moreover, that the networks refugees are presently employing are unable to restore their former occupational status. Network ties also play a significant role with respect to self-identification as a Canadian. However, rather than in-group ties, ties outside the inner circle enhance refugees' sense of Canadian identity and belonging, suggesting that Canadian identity is defined, in part, as aligning oneself with an ideal sense of an

"average" Canadian. The third contribution of this thesis is to offer a theoretical integration of the findings. Giddens' structuration theory is a useful interpretive framework interpreting how refugee agency and power is constrained and enabled by the rules and resources governing the resettlement process. Based on the analyses, several policy and program recommendations are suggested to facilitate and improve refugees' use of network ties in their resettlement.

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# CHAPTER ONE
# INTRODUCTION

## A. Introduction

The substantial increase in the admittance of refugees or refugee claimants to Canada in the last few years, including most recently those from the former Yugoslavia, has prompted considerable research on refugee resettlement and the struggles faced during this process.[1] One area of consideration which is currently a major research interest in the social sciences, but relatively neglected in the study of refugee resettlement, is the impact of social networks and other forms of potential capital in the integration process. Examining the resettlement experiences of 525 adult refugees destined to Alberta, this thesis investigates the impact of refugees' family and extra-familial ties, and education and work experience on four interrelated resettlement outcomes: quality of employment, annual household income, homeownership, and self-identification as a Canadian.

This chapter is divided into five main sections. Section B explains the nature of the research problem. Section C introduces and clarifies the main concepts and theoretical orientations of this study, including *structuration theory*, the network analysis approach, and conceptual and empirical definitions of capital and *capital power*. In addition, this section outlines the main theoretical, methodological and broader sociological questions guiding this research. Section D specifies the main contributions and research significance of the current study, particularly as it contributes to research on refugee resettlement and more broadly, to the field of

[1] In 1998, there were 7, 425 government-assisted refugees in Canada. This number climbed to over 10, 000 in 2000. This substantial increase is primarily due to the large numbers of government-assisted Kosova refugees who arrived in 1999, and who obtained permanent resident status in 2000 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2000).

sociology. The final section of this chapter describes the organization of the dissertation.

**B. Statement of the Research Problem**

Without formally committing to a network analysis approach, many researchers have acknowledged the role of various social networks in the resettlement process of immigrants. Few studies, however, have offered a comprehensive enumeration of refugees' social ties in the process of resettlement, specifically, and *fewer* still have examined refugee agency within the context of social networks and other forms of capital. In general, "capital" is defined as the resources individuals possess and use to their benefit. Forms of capital vary including economic capital which exists, for example, in the form of income or property. Human capital may exist in the form of education and work experience. Less tangible is social capital which is represented in the form of social relationships. These forms of capital are defined in greater detail in the following section.

This thesis examines mainly the role of social and human capital[2] in the resettlement process of refugees in Alberta. The purpose of the thesis is threefold as it offers a description of network ties, a multi-variate analysis of the effects of capital on resettlement outcomes, and a broader theoretical interpretation. First, in terms of a descriptive analysis, this research offers an enumeration of a refugees' ties, describing in detail the structure of refugees' familial and extra-familial networks. The analysis includes an examination of specific dimensions of a network: actual and potential size, content and range of

[2]Theoretically, the thesis recognizes the impact of economic and cultural capital on refugee resettlement. However, the data base analyzed in this study does not contain information regarding a refugee's stock of economic and cultural capital prior to arrival in Canada. Consequently, social and human capital will constitute the main focus of empirical analysis. It should be noted, however, that refugees' annual household income (defined in this study as a resettlement outcome) is considered a form of economic capital developed during the course of resettlement. Thus, as a form of economic capital, income is treated in the analysis as a potential predictor of home ownership.

one's network, and tie strength (relative importance of ties, time investment and frequency of contact) and duration of ties.

Related to the descriptive analysis, the thesis examines the relationships between potential forms of social and human capital and their effects on refugees' resettlement outcomes. A refugee's network structure may act to enable or constrain use of and access to other forms of capital, and consequently, may have a particularly salient impact upon resettlement outcomes. In this multi-variate analysis, the potential value of forms of capital is drawn out, illustrating the idea that inherent to capital is power -- the ability to generate and make productive use of resources in the process of integration. Thus, even if refugees possess resources, this thesis questions the extent to which resources have *capital power*.

Because access to and the productive use of potential forms of capital is dependent upon a number of factors, the thesis identifies the ways in which capital is distributed and functions among groups of refugees displaying a variety of interacting characteristics. Factors such as racial/ethnic group affiliation, gender and age status, and a wide range of other variables including location and length of residence in Canada, geographic mobility in Canada, refugee camp experience, discrimination and problems with foreign credential recognition are expected to significantly affect refugees' capital power.

Deriving out of this descriptive and multidimensional focus, the third purpose of this thesis is to offer a theoretical integration. Specifically, aspects of structuration theory, network analysis, and conceptualizations of capital will be integrated to interpret the descriptive and multi-variate elements of this research. Generally, structuration theory highlights the interplay between agency and structure emphasizing that individual choice is made within opportunity structures. This theory acts as a useful framework to describe how refugee agency is constrained and enabled by the rules and resources (i.e., embedded in

potential forms of social and human capital) governing the integration process. Thus, structuration theory could be used to interpret, for example, networks as structures which may enable certain outcomes (i.e., resources). Or conversely, networks can engender rules constraining refugees in various aspects of their resettlement. By incorporating structuration theory in this way, the thesis can account for the fact that not all network ties are forms of social capital. Rather, network ties and other forms of capital can be argued to have, as Paxton (1999) suggests, capital potential or, as this study argues, varying degrees of *capital power*. Furthermore, the power of capital is dependent upon the societal context in which it is operating. Conceptual and theoretical questions central to this dissertation are discussed below.

## C. Theoretical and Conceptual Clarifications

### *Conceptually Defining Capital*

Most refugee research dealing with issues of capital loosely defines the concept as meaning resources. In addition, the breadth of resources or capital available to refugees and the precise definition of capital lack conceptual clarification in most studies. Capital, however, entails several dimensions. This study deals mainly with potential forms of social and human capital, and to a lesser extent, economic capital. As mentioned above, *economic capital* represents the tangible items available to individuals (Bourdieu, 1985). For the purposes of the present study, these tangible items include income and property. According to Coleman (1990), *human capital* entails the skills and knowledge that an individual acquires and uses for future returns, such as one's training and education.

*Social capital* is less tangible. This form of capital draws attention to the benefits (not necessarily mutually beneficial) accrued from relationships between individuals. Thus, for a person to possess social capital he/she must be

related to others in some form of social network(s). Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualization views social capital as a durable social network enabling individuals to gain access to resources. Bourdieu argues that capital represents "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu, 1985: 248). Coleman (1988) adds that inherent to social capital are structural elements such as norms, sanctions and obligations governing the relationship. This is similar to what Giddens would argue; the ability of agents to use resources depends on the structural elements (i.e., rules) governing their use.

Based on Bourdieu and Coleman's conceptualizations, Paxton (1999: 93) suggests that *social capital* involves two components. First, she argues that an objective network structure that links individuals together in social space must be present (for example, a refugee's familial network structure). Second, a subjective element must be present in order for ties to have social capital potential. That is, in order for network ties to advance to a form of social capital, the relationship must be trusting and positive. In the case of refugees, however, developing trust may be a difficult task in a foreign environment. Because the need to trust is imperative for survival, particularly in the first months of resettlement, refugees do "not have any choice about whether to place trust" (Paxton, 1999: 98). Giddens (1990) makes the distinction between trust in specific individuals versus trust in abstract institutions or groups of people. Refugees would need to place trust in the abstract notion of Canada's humanitarian commitment to those escaping persecution, and in the institutions of sponsorship and settlement services offered during the phases of resettlement.

*Empirically Defining Capital*

According to Paxton (1999), a systematic treatment of the concept of social capital must distinguish actual forms of social capital from outcomes. Questioning the

methodological approach used to measure the much debated status of social capital in the United States, Paxton faults previous studies for identifying outcomes as measures of social capital. For example, voting and volunteering are not forms of social capital. Rather, they are specific actions of individuals or outcomes facilitated by social capital (Paxton, 1999). Portes (1998) adds that any examination of social capital must identify the possessors of social capital. Finally, to be truly valued as "real capital", Fernandez, Castilla & Moore (2000: 1290) maintain that researchers examining social capital, "should be able to concretely identify the value of the investment, the rates of return, and the means by which returns are realized."

This research employs these measurement guidelines in empirically defining not only social capital, but human capital as well. Dealing first with the possessors of capital, this study identifies the 525 adult refugees destined to Alberta as the potential holders of social and human capital. Secondly, resources available to refugees in the process of resettlement are considered to be potential forms of capital. Specifically, the familial and extra-familial ties that refugees possess and continue to generate prior to and during the process of resettlement are empirically defined as potential forms of social capital. Potential forms of human capital are defined as language proficiency, former occupation and education, and training obtained in Canada.[3]

To test the value of capital, the interrelated impacts of social networks and other resources on four main resettlement outcomes are examined. These outcomes include: quality of employment, annual household income, home ownership and self-identification as a Canadian (see Figure A). In economic terms, the "real"

[3] While human capital, conceptually, can be interpreted as including one's mental and physical health, empirical analyses of human capital will be restricted to educational attainment, work experience, language proficiency (at the time of arrival) and training obtained in Canada, particularly since the survey instrument does not measure health status at the time of arrival (measurements are taken six months and a year after arrival). Thus, in the empirical analyses in subsequent chapters, mental and physical health will be treated as a control variable.

value of capital can be assessed by considering how social and human capital interact with income and employment outcomes. Social capital can be interpreted as "real capital" in the sense that it can be used to enhance a refugee's stock of human and economic resources (for example, gaining employment and income via the aid of a network tie).

Lastly, the thesis examines capital as a source of social (or structural) control. Structuration theory is useful in understanding the impact of capital on refugee resettlement.Giddens (1984: 283) argues that "power is the means of getting things done and, as such, directly implied in human action". Thus, as a source of social control, *capital* can be understood as having *power*. *Capital power*, in relation to refugees, is interpreted as: a) a refugee's ability to generate, access and make productive use of potential resources and b) objective assessments of the productive capacity of a refugee's social and human capital. For example, objective assessments would measure the relative impact of potential forms of capital on occupational success in Canada.

*Describing the Network Approach*

As Marsden (1998: 435, 436) suggests, the network approach "conceives of social structure as patterns of specifiable relations joining social units - including both individual actors and collectivities such as organizations and nation states." Used as a research tool,

> the approach seeks to describe social structure in terms of networks and to interpret the behavior of actors in light of their varying positions within social structure. Emphasis is on constraints placed by social structure, on individual action and the differential opportunities - known variously as social resources, social capital or social support - to which actors have access." (Marsden, 1998: 436)

Network structural analysis allows the examination of social capital by measuring network size, range, content, and tie strength of refugees' network structure. Network size is defined as the number of social ties that an individual refugee possesses (Marsden, 1998). Network range is also measured and is defined as "the extent to which a unit's network links it to diverse other units" (Marsden, 1998: 455). Range is measured by examining actual and potential network size. According to Marsden (1998), current network approaches focus mainly on actual ties and exchanges. Considering both actual and potential social ties suggests the potential for an ever-changing network structure.

Network content measures type of relationship. In the case of refugees, the study is concerned with measuring familial and community (host and ethnic) relationships developed in the process of resettlement. Tie strength measures frequency of contact, duration, and relative importance of both familial and extra-familial ties. These measures are "all positively related to an 'intimacy' focus" (Marsden, 1998: 455). In addition, tie strength is measured by assessing the time a refugee invests in various activities (inside and outside the home and family network).

The thesis is also concerned with identifying the "strength of weak ties" (Granovetter, 1974). Because network ties can be both enabling and constraining, the thesis is concerned with identifying the network conditions (i.e., size, content and strength) which constrain aspects of resettlement. Thus, while most literature emphasizes the benefits of an extensive and varied social network system to promote successful resettlement, this research will also consider the impact of a

> relative absence of ties, labeled "structural holes", that facilitates individual mobility. This is so because dense networks tend to convey redundant information [and restrictive norms], while weaker ties can be sources of new knowledge and resources." (Portes, 1998: 6).

Burt (1992) developed the concept of "structural holes" out of Granovetter's (1974) work. Granovetter, who looked at employment networks, suggested that there was power in accessing indirect influences from outside the familial network. He argued that dense familial networks may dissuade individuals from obtaining "new information crucial to one's social mobility" (Kuo & Tsai, 1986: 136). Lower density networks can provide individuals with a greater diversity of coping repertoires or they may allow individual's "more freedom to maneuver" (Kuo & Tsai, 1986: 136). Weak ties are determined by examining network size, content and strength.

*Structuration Theory*

Anthony Giddens' (1984) structuration theory argues for a dialectical interplay between agency and structure. Structures, which can be defined as both rules and resources, cannot be understood without considering the active participants which produce and reproduce them. As agents, individuals are reflexive beings aware of the structures which influence their actions. Moreover, Giddens emphasizes the "duality" of structure explaining that rules and resources both determine behavior and offer agents choice. As such, structures can be thought of as both 'constraining' and 'enabling' human behavior.

Past research has employed structuration theory to inform international migration theories. In particular, Richmond (1988: 17) has argued that to fully understand the conditions surrounding migration, it is necessary to

> ...incorporate an understanding of social action and human agency, the question of conflict, contradiction and opposition in social systems, the meaning of structure and change, and the importance of power.

Richmond (1988: 17) explains that individuals or groups in the pre-migration stage fall between two ends of a continuum. On the proactive side of the continuum, the

decision to move may be made by purposefully and rationally considering the advantages and disadvantages of making a move. On the reactive side of the continuum, the decision to move may involve no choice but to escape from "intolerable threats".

However, while structuration theory has been used to explain motivations and conditions surrounding the pre-migration stage, its application to conditions of admittance and subsequent resettlement has not received adequate, if any, attention. As the literature review of this thesis demonstrates (Chapter Two), reactive and proactive circumstances do not cease as the decision to leave is made. The nature and conditions of admittance into another country structurally define who becomes a refugee and how refugee identity is consequently defined and played out during resettlement.

Structuration theory acts as an ideal framework to interpret the refugee experience in the process of resettlement. This perspective theoretically frames the process by which refugees consciously and actively attempt to re-establish a routine lifestyle in a foreign structural context. Furthermore, the present research employs structuration theory to suggest that network ties and other forms of potential capital can act to either constrain or enable refugees during the course of resettlement.

For example, in the case of their employment quality, a refugee's employment choices can be argued to depend upon *capital power*. Agency, in this case, is implied in the development of social networks and how refugees use network ties to find employment. However, refugee actions are determined by the responsibilities and rules inherent to the social tie developed. For example, family ties may constrain a refugee depending on the rules governing child and kin care practices. Actions are also determined by refugees' human capital resources including former education and work experience, and their English language ability. Furthermore, external structural barriers, such as the rules governing foreign credential recognition procedures, may determine how these resources are

used. Thus, individual autonomy and subsequent employment outcomes are constrained and enabled according to a refugee's opportunity structure. This opportunity structure can be understood as the interplay between the rules and resources governing or inherent to network structures, potential human capital and larger societal barriers. Thus, the choices and subsequent actions of refugees regarding accessing and using their education/training, accessing health care services, accessing settlement services, participating in leisure activities, searching for employment, and buying a house can be argued to depend upon one's *capital power*. How *capital power* is interpreted is discussed in more detail below.

**D. Main Research Questions**

Several research questions guide this study including questions addressing broader sociological concepts, those directing the empirical analyses, and lastly, questions framing the theoretical interpretation presented in this thesis.

*Broader Sociological Issues*

In the broadest sense, the thesis addresses several sociological issues which revolve around four main concepts: structure, agency, resource and power.

1. What is the relationship between agency and structure? What is the theoretical relationship between structuration theory, network theory and conceptualizations of capital?

2. What is the nature of "capital"? How does one identify its existence, its functions, its effects? How do various forms of capital enable or constrain individual agency?

3. What is the nature of social networks? How are social networks both enabling and constraining? Do social networks always yield benefits to individuals? How are resources mobilized?

4. How are forms of capital related and interdependent? What impact does the resource power that individuals possess have on agency, outcomes and social practices?

*Descriptive Analysis*

The first main contribution of the thesis is to provide a descriptive analysis of refugees' familial and extra-familial network structure. Addressed in Chapter Four of the thesis, the following questions are central in this analysis:

1. What is the size and content of a refugee's familial and extra-familial network structure? What is the range of a refugee's network structure?

2. What is the nature of tie strength in a refugee's familial and extra-family network?

3. What are the various functions of social capital among refugee populations?

4. What are the various forms of social and human capital among refugee populations?

*Multi-variate Analysis*

At the multi-variate level, a series of questions addressing the impact of capital on resettlement outcomes are examined. These questions are addressed in Chapters

Five and Six. Chapter Five examines the effects of potential capital on refugees' quality of employment, annual household income and home ownership, while Chapter Six examines the impact of potential capital on self-identification as a Canadian.

1. What is the relative impact of social networks in relation to human capital on resettlement outcomes?

2. Do similar forms of network systems and other potential resources yield similar outcomes among individual refugees and groups of refugees?

3. Do all forms of refugee network systems and other forms of potential capital produce desired resettlement outcomes?

*Theoretical Interpretation*

Chapter Seven presents an interpretive theoretical framework which views the descriptive and multi-variate analyses within the context of structuration theory. Essentially this chapter addresses one main question:

1. How can Giddens' structuration theory be used to understand the relationship between structure, agency, resource and power in the context of refugee resettlement?

**E. Purpose and Significance of the Study**

Mazur (1988: 45) argues that studies of refugee resettlement and integration offer important contributions toward "understanding the external forces that act upon individuals, families and communities that are forced to undergo sudden transformation" (Mazur, 1988: 45). According to Richmond (1988: 7), theories on the sociology of migration

> should be capable of explaining the scale, direction, and composition of population movements that cross state boundaries, the factors which determine the decision to move and the choice of destination, the characteristic modes of social integration in the receiving country and the eventual outcome, including remigration and return movements.

However, it appears that in the research literature refugees are primarily examined as persons in need (Gold, 1993), rather than as unique individuals attempting to re-establish their lives. As Gold argues (1993: xi), "by focusing exclusively on their status as refugees, researchers often ignore important realms of refugees' lives - those concerned with self-determination, internal diversity, and establishing themselves as an ethnic group in the new nation". In general, my thesis examines refugees as active participants in their resettlement, and it identifies the main resources and structures which enable and constrain refugees in their resettlement goals.

Specifically, my research offers four main contributions to current investigations of refugee resettlement, and more broadly, to discussions of social structure, social integration and issues of social inequality. First, I offer a *descriptive analysis* in which I systematically examine refugees' network structures. While studies have acknowledged the role of network ties in resettlement, few of them have actually examined the range of network ties that either enable or constrain refugees in the resettlement process. My thesis describes the specific roles of networks and the degree of their importance in the resettlement process. Employing a network analysis approach, I am able to systematically account for and describe network ties on a number of dimensions including a network's actual and potential size, the content and range of one's network (in this case, familial and extra-familial ties), and tie strength.

My second contribution is to use a *multivariate analysis* to determine the impact of various forms of potentially useful resources, particularly social networks, on the integration experiences of adult refugees. Using a multi-step multiple regression strategy, indicators measuring social networks and human capital are employed as the main predictors of economic and social integration. Because social networks and human capital are viewed as interrelated forms of potentially useful resources in resettlement, they are considered to have potential *capital power*. Furthermore, a range of variables (such as gender, age and region of origin) considered to be potential determinants of integration outcomes are statistically controlled in order to uncover the relative strength of *capital power* for groups of refugees sharing similar characteristics.

This multi-variate analysis contributes to current research as it clearly defines the possessors, sources, functions and effects of capital. As is depicted in Figure A, the power of potential resources is measured by examining constraining and enabling capacities. The possessors of capital are refugees. Also clearly identified as separate from capital itself are the economic and social resettlement outcomes. Capital is not measured as an outcome, rather it is viewed as potential resources (for example, networks) facilitating the production of positive outcomes (Paxton, 1999). The reinvestment of capital is also implied, particularly as it relates to home ownership.

Forging a link between method and theory, my third contribution involves employing a network approach as a methodological tool to demonstrate theoretically the connection between structure and agency. Furthermore, within Giddens' theoretical framework it is possible to view refugees as agents operating within an ever-evolving structural context which can be enabling or constraining. For example, all network ties are not viewed as forms of social capital. They can function as resources (i.e., social capital) or engender rules which restrict choice. Demonstrating this interaction between agency and structure makes this study substantially different from most current research

which views refugees as passive recipients of resettlement. In past research, structuration theory has been used to explain the motivations and conditions surrounding the pre-migration stage, but its application to subsequent resettlement has received inadequate, if any, attention. As an interpretive framework, structuration theory highlights the process by which refugees attempt to re-establish workable and profitable networks and other forms of capital within a larger societal context. In this theoretical context, refugee agency is implied in the relationships developed between refugees and their network ties.

Finally, a fourth contribution of this research is its program and policy relevance. My dissertation demonstrates how refugees use their network structure to compensate for the low value of their human and cultural capital. Becoming aware of the types of ties that refugees draw upon in their employment searches, for example, could allow service providers to focus on improving the effectiveness of these sources of aid. Toward strengthening a refugee's social capital power, service providers can equip network ties, such as family and ethnic group members, with appropriate and useful knowledge about the Canadian labour market and its structural restrictions, and opportunities to build an extensive range of ethnic group-based employment advancement resources.

**F. Organization of the Dissertation**

Chapter Two offers a comprehensive review of the theory and research regarding refugee re-settlement. This section reviews research examining patterns of refugee resettlement and factors affecting refugee adjustment, focussing on the impact of social, economic, human, and cultural capital on refugee adjustment. The methodological procedures employed for this research are described in Chapter Three. This chapter reviews the data collection

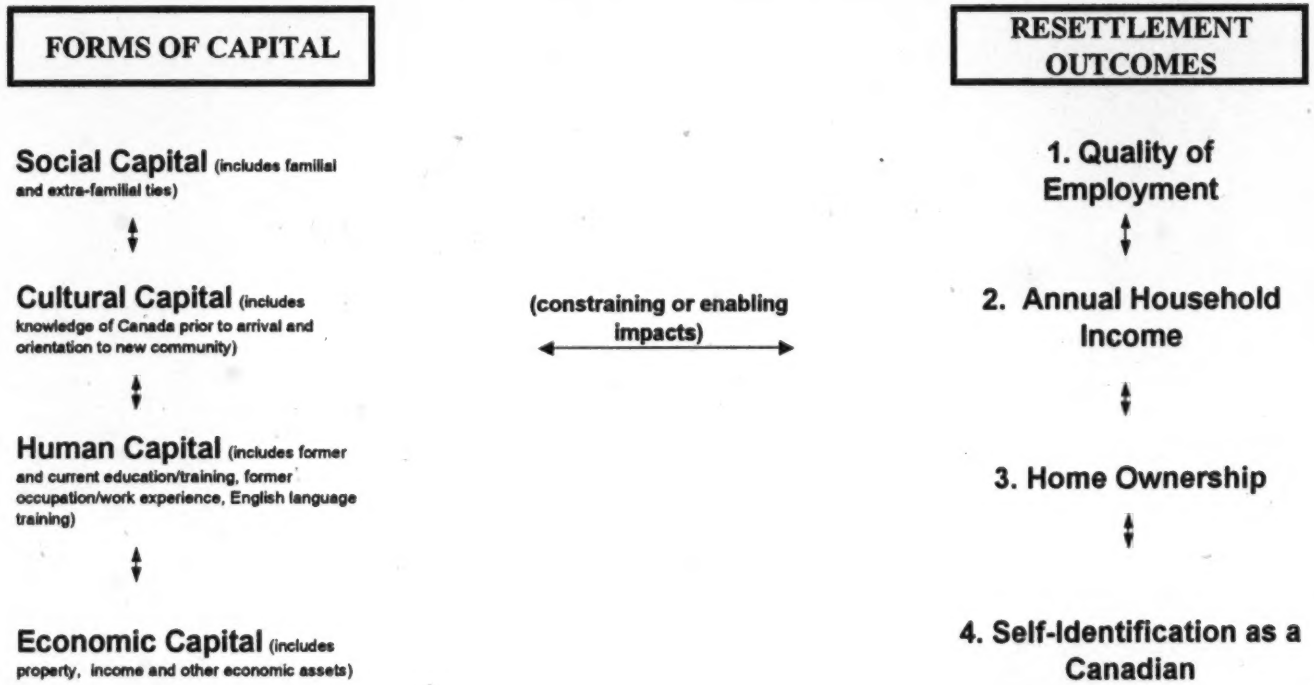
methods, the interview format used for the study, and statistical procedures. It also presents a detailed profile of the refugees participating in the study.

Chapters Four, Five and Six constitute the data analyses section of the dissertation. Chapter Four presents the descriptive analysis, providing an enumeration of familial and extra-familial ties. In addition to measuring network content, range and actual and potential size, this analysis also considers tie strength and duration of ties.

Using a multiple regression strategy, Chapters Five and Six offer multi-variate analyses of the relative impacts of social, cultural and human capital and other critical variables, such as gender, age and visible minority status, on four resettlement outcomes. Chapter Five concentrates on three forms of economic outcomes: quality of employment, annual household income, and home ownership. Chapter Six considers the impact of capital on a subjective dimension of integration -- self-identification as a Canadian.

A theoretical interpretation of these analyses is offered in Chapter Seven. As an interpretive framework, Giddens' *structuration theory* is used to understand how various forms of potential resources may enable or constrain refugees in their economic and social integration. A summary of results is presented, followed by a theoretical integration linking the four main elements operating in refugee resettlement: structure, capital, power and agency. Based on this theoretical interpretation, implications for resettlement policy and for future research are discussed.

**FIGURE A: RECIPROCAL AND INTERACTIVE IMPACTS OF POTENTIAL FORMS OF CAPITAL AND RESETTLEMENT OUTCOMES**


FORMS OF CAPITAL
RESETTLEMENT OUTCOMES
Social Capital (includes familial and extra-familial ties)
Cultural Capital (includes knowledge of Canada prior to arrival and orientation to new community)
Human Capital (includes former and current education/training, former occupation/work experience, English language training)
Economic Capital (includes property, income and other economic assets)
(constraining or enabling impacts)
1. Quality of Employment
2. Annual Household Income
3. Home Ownership
4. Self-Identification as a Canadian

Note: Arrows drawn between forms of capital and resettlement outcomes indicate interactive and reciprocal effects.

# CHAPTER TWO
# BACKGROUND OF THEORY AND RESEARCH: REFUGEE IDENTITY AND PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS OF RESETTLEMENT

## A. Introduction

This chapter offers a critical review of the literature examining refugee resettlement. Various areas of resettlement are considered. These include research on predictors of occupation, educational and residential adjustment. Mental and physical health adjustment research is also reviewed, as is literature dealing with developing a sense of Canadian identity and belonging. Research that considers the impact of a combination of gender, age, ethnicity, and racial differences in all aspects of refugee resettlement is highlighted.

Research examining the impact of familial and extra-familial networks, including host community and ethnic enclave networks is also reviewed. In addition, this chapter reviews the available research examining the roles of human, economic and cultural capital in various areas of resettlement. To highlight the unique experiences of refugees, studies comparing and contrasting refugee versus immigrant uses/sources of networks and other forms of capital are discussed where applicable.

This chapter also considers views of resettlement in the context of refugee agency and structural constraints. One set of studies emphasizes the structural constraints involved in migration and resettlement, while another set focuses on the refugee as an active participant in the resettlement process. Specifically, the review considers research focussing on the constraining and enabling nature of networks as they operate *within the context of* socio-economic conditions and cultural/political definitions of 'refugee'.

The first section of this review discusses refugees from a political, legal, and social perspective, as defined by both the refugee and the global society. This section considers the legal and demographic constructs dictating refugee admission into Canada. Within this structural context, this section examines the nature of refugee identity, role expectations and refugee labels which dictate refugee agency. With an understanding of how the refugee is constructed and how this construction interacts with the realities of the refugee experience, one can better appreciate how networks, other forms of potential capital, and societal conditions interact with refugee agency in various areas of adjustment. The review then turns to a more detailed look at the specific areas of refugee adjustment, including occupational, residential, health, educational adjustment, and social integration. These are considered within a framework which views refugees as both enabled and constrained by societal conditions and various forms of capital.

**B. Demographic Characteristics**

Before examining how refugee identity is formulated within a socio-political and economic context, it is useful to provide a profile of the refugees who are admitted into Canada. A demographic profile of a refugee population highlights the boundaries of a nation's selection process, reflecting, as is discussed in greater detail below, the socio-political and economic conditions of admittance, and the first level of state constraints placed on aspiring refugees. Ethnic group representation, age, gender, marital status and dependent status offer an indication about which type of refugees are being considered for admittance and why, and about which areas in the world are considered worthy of refugee recognition. Recent statistics indicate that a little over 24, 000 refugees were admitted into Canada in 1997 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997). In 1997, about 41% of all refugees were either government or privately sponsored.

In terms of gender differences, there were more male (55%) than female (45%) refugees admitted in 1997. Males were generally more likely to be principal applicants, constituting 72% of the principal applicant category. In contrast, a significant proportion of females was admitted as dependants (60%). Canada places emphasis on family reunification as dependants represent a greater proportion of refugees received than do principal applicants (51% versus 49%, respectively).

Admission patterns by ethnic group origin, indicates that in 1997 former Yugoslavian refugees represented the majority of refugees admitted (23%) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), 1997). In total, refugees from Europe and the United Kingdom constitute approximately 30% of admitted refugees. Other source areas from which refugees currently migrate include the following: Africa and the Middle East (33%); Asia and Pacific (30%); South and Central America (7%).

A significant proportion of current refugees to Canada are married (38%) and about 30% are single. Age breakdowns indicate that 25 to 44 year olds are disproportionately represented, making up 48% of the total refugee population in 1997 (CIC, 1997). The emphasis placed on admitting refugees ranging in age from 25 to 44 represents the Canadian government's goal of admitting not only on the basis of humanitarian grounds, but also to ensure that refugees will be economically productive members of Canadian society. The lowest proportion of refugees admitted (about 1%) are in the 65 years and older category (CIC, 1997). Given the low proportions of refugees 65 and older, there appears to be less concern about unifying extended family members, such as grandparents. In addition, given Canada's aging population, low numbers of refugees over 65 may represent the government's response in rejecting applicants who may be economically non-productive individuals and thus more dependant upon Canada's stressed social and health services sector.

Forming, in part, the structural context of resettlement, place of destination greatly influences a refugee's adjustment experiences, potentially in terms of educational and occupational success. Regionally, refugees are disproportionately represented in Ontario and Quebec; Ontario received 48% of all refugees in 1997 and Quebec received about 32% of total refugees admitted in 1997. In 1997, Alberta received about 5% (1200 refugees) of the total population of refugees admitted. From 1990-1997, two-thirds of refugees arriving in Alberta were destined to Alberta's two major cities, Edmonton and Calgary. The remaining refugees were destined to smaller communities across Alberta (see Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Landed Immigrant Data Base, 1992-1997).[4]

## C. Becoming a Refugee: Societal Constructions and Expectations vs. Refugee Realities and Expectations

### Nature and Conditions of Admittance

Structural constraints in the refugee experience are first evident at the level of defining who does and who does not constitute a refugee and how that designation is determined. Thus, in order to understand how refugee status is legalized and assigned, one must refer to the main legal instrument which provides a framework upon which state interpretations of refugee status are constructed. In 1951, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees offered an internationally agreed upon and legally-binding definition of refugee. At this time, a "refugee" was defined as a person who,

[4] These figures do not include dependants abroad and refugee claimants.

> ...owing to a well founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of that country.

This definition of refugee has remained intact since its inception and continues to function as the main reference point for state interpretations (Zetter, 1999). Canada reflects this central definition in its refugee policy. As a state construction, refugee is defined by two main classes in Canada. *Convention* refugees are admitted under the auspices of the United Nations definition quoted above. The second class of refugees, known as 'Designated Classes', does not fall under the terms of the United Nations definition and offers status to those who are in *refugee-like situations* in which "no other durable solution can be found" (Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1998: 39). If sponsored by the government or by private organizations such as churches, refugees are granted permanent residence. Those who are not sponsored must apply for refugee status and are given permanent residence after the Immigration and Refugee Board has granted refugee status.

Despite the seemingly flexible and humanitarian character of the United Nations definition, a great deal of debate exists regarding the legal instrument's limitations and oversights. Roger Zetter (1999) argues that fundamental dilemmas existing in the definition of refugees influence the legitimation of claims to refugee status and structure international legal responsibilities. One dilemma is that individual pleas for refugee status are often recognized only in the context of a broader collective condition. Consequently, individual claims based on human rights, such as domestic violence or gender-related persecution, are often ignored by refugee state policies (Zetter, 1999). Cases such as these may be considered unworthy of collective consideration. In Canada, a program was designed to target refugee women at risk, encouraging their admittance even

if they had limited labor-market skills and lacked educational qualifications. However, the proportion (0.3%) admitted between 1988-1991 was small (Boyd, 1994). This dilemma of legitimizing individual claims versus collective conditions, and its relationship with self-identity, is discussed in more detail below.

Zetter identifies a second dilemma which involves the relationship between socio-political interests and legal directives. Zetter (1999) argues that the determination of refugee status is influenced not only by internationally-accepted definitions of refugee status, but also by the political interests of states. Thus, the status of human atrocities are monitored and determined within the context of protecting state sovereignty and state relations. Consequently, "the concept of individual persecution, central to the Convention definition, is made subservient to broader political, economic, historical explanations of why people become refugees" (Zetter, 1999: 52). For example, early in its inception, the Eurocentric-based Convention ignored many displaced persons such as Palestinians, Indians and Pakistanis, following World War II. Citing more recent evidence, Zetter offers several examples of humanitarian relief in which external political and military interventions took precedence over the sovereign interests of states. For example, Zetter (1999) argues that the former Yugoslavia, the Rwanda Emergency in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa, and Azerbaijan and Armenia of the former Soviet Union were all subjected to the politicization of the refugee identity. Zetter (1999: 54) explains that

> In an ironic reflection of one of the original motives for the Convention - the genocide of the Jews in Europe - the international community failed to protect hundreds of thousands of victims of genocide in both former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. Yet, it found itself protecting, indeed being exploited by, the perpetrators of genocide (relabeled as convention refugees under the Convention definition) notably in the case of the Rwandan exodus. The concept of

> neutrality... is severely tested where the humanitarian imperative is so closely linked to political interests and military operations.

Syed Hyder (1991) provides a similar example in which the determination of refugee status is not separated from political considerations. Hyder examined the refugee claims of Indian Sikhs and Tamils who appeared off the coast of Nova Scotia in 1986. He argued that while both Tamils and Sikhs were similarly persecuted, Tamil refugee claimants were offered refugee status, but Sikh claimants were denied. Hyder explains this differential treatment as a response to political pressure urging Canada to consider the arrival of Sikhs as representing a "national crisis" (i.e., an Indian crisis). Under the rules of the Convention, external state intervention was, thus, discouraged and Sikh arrivals were redefined from refugee claimant to illegal alien.

The recent case of Chinese migrants arriving in deteriorating ships on Canada's west coast illustrates another perspective on the conditional nature of assigning refugee status. At present, recognition of a collective refugee condition has not been granted to these Chinese migrants. Rather, individual migrants are offered the opportunity to prove refugee status. How, in this case, is refugee defined? Is it feasible to suggest that the conditions surrounding their departure constitute a form of forcible expulsion (meaning unable to return) via the illegal activities of underground organizations? This may, indeed, be an appropriate evaluation. At this time, however, an international recognition of this or any other form of forced expulsion has not been announced. The reasons for this are varied and complex. From the Canadian government's perspective, granting refugee status to all migrants without hesitation pardons and allows the potential for continued illegal activities. In the last analysis, the migrants are caught in the middle. Where there is no collective condition to draw from, refugee pleas from individual migrants may carry little weight. Furthermore, without recognition of a collective cause, refugee claimants are offered little support from the worldwide community represented via the UN, and other sources, including in

particular, media sources and the Canadian population at large. As a result, differential treatment of refugee claims may occur, likely resulting in miscommunication and unequal access to refugee status.

Most recently, the events of September 11 in the United States have begun to re-structure Canadian policies regulating refugee determination. Responding to pressure from the United States government to tighten Canadian immigration laws, former Immigration Minister Elinor Caplin introduced various security measures designed to detain more refugee claimants for longer periods (Clark, October 13, 2001: A13). In determining refugee status, claimants will be subject to in-depth security interviews as they arrive in Canada. Despite these measures, Caplin insists that refugee flows will not be compromised (Clark, October 18, 2001). It is possible, however, that those most in need, such as future Afghani claimants, may suffer the most as Canada's humanitarian commitment becomes contingent upon political circumstances and state relations. For example, Canada's anti-terrorist legislation, developed in response to the events of September 11, will undoubtedly introduce many complications for aspiring refugee claimants worldwide.

Considering the evidence, Zetter (1999: 53) argues that a new academic approach to the determination of 'refugee' is emerging. Although a 'universally' accepted definition of what constitutes a refugee exists, uncovering the conditions surrounding and defining this status can be best understood via an examination of socio-economic and political interests - those which protect state sovereignty *and/or* state relations.

**The Individual Refugee: A Crisis of Identity**

As noted above, despite the personal status and flexibility offered in both the Canadian and United Nations definitions, the term 'refugee' is rarely applied to a single individual (Abu-Loghod, 1988). As a social construction, refugee status

implies a collective condition, meaning that refugees as individuals are, at most, considered representatives of their group's socio-political plight (Abu-Loghod, 1988).

As a result of this designation, research and practice have traditionally considered that all refugees are equal, lacking distinctive personal life histories, motivations for escaping their homeland, and future plans (Daniel & Knudsen, 1995). In the realm of policy and practice, for example, case workers and service providers, often reduce each refugee to a common denominator (Daniel & Knudsen, 1995: 5). In addition, expectations about how a refugee should act are widespread and entrenched. In order to legitimate one's refugee status, a refugee must display need and helplessness (Mazur, 1988). Socially-constructed, one-dimensional and ideal-typical in its configuration, the refugee status no longer embodies the unique life histories associated with each refugee experience. As a result, a refugee is forced to abandon a sense of identity which existed before the refugee status was claimed. Daniel & Knudsen (1995: 1, 7) comment on the refugee's struggle between retaining a former sense of self and reality versus facing a new and harsh reality plagued with misunderstanding and distrust.

> ...the event or events that triggers a person's decision to become a refugee is the radical disjunction between this person's familiar way of being in the world and a new reality of the socio-political circumstances that not only threaten that way of being but also forces one to see the world differently. The crisis that precipitates the refugee status is at once personal and social and therefore it is a crisis that pursues the refugee well into his or her life in the country in which he or she seeks asylum.

In a similar vein, Liisa Malkki (1992: 37) argues for a middle ground in defining the refugee identity. It is neither fully located in the past, nor is it solely associated with a static, collective condition in the present. Malkki argues that a

refugee identity, as it exists in the present, encompasses a share of both past and present ever-negotiated identities. Its future development is "mobile and processual" and can be characterized as "...partly self-construction, partly categorization by others, partly a condition, a status, a label, a weapon, a shield, a fund of memories.... creolized aggregate". As such, the refugee is, at the same time, an individual with a unique set of personal memories, a recipient of socially-constructed refugee labels, yet one who retains an active role in the construction of his/her future identity.

*Framing the Refugee Experience*

In academic research, conceptualizing what a refugee has only recently become a main interest. It is not only personal definitions of refugee that are in question, but also the general status of the refugee, particularly as it stands in contrast to other immigrants. For example, past research viewed the refugee as representing a political form of migration. This definition was developed in contrast to immigrants who were considered strictly an economic form of migrant (Hein, 1993).

Recent developments in conceptualizing the refugee identity have argued for a less static and less polarized view of the refugee. One side of the debate, namely the realist perspective, views refugee experiences as distinctly different from other immigrant experiences. From the realist perspective, men, women and children refugees are characterized as undergoing unusual circumstances as they flee their country for fear of severe persecution. Proponents of this perspective emphasize the psychological trauma specifically associated with the refugee experience (Koser, 1997). In contrast, the nominalist perspective suggests that social constructions of the refugee experience disguise the similarities between refugees and other immigrants (Koser, 1997). Thus, nominalists argue that refugees and other immigrants share similar structural positions in the new host

society, particularly with respect to labour market experiences, immigration policies, and issues regarding racism (Koser, 1997).

Researchers debating these opposing perspectives have suggested that neither approach is analytically valid. Koser (1997) and Gold (1993) argue that the difference between refugees and immigrants is a matter of degree rather than type. Both immigrants and refugees must deal with a unique set of interdependent personal, economic and socio-political factors in the process of migration and resettlement. Thus, it is perhaps more accurate to understand the realist and nominalist perspective as two extremes on a conceptual continuum (Koser, 1997).

**A Crisis of Identity: Passive or Active?**

A refugee identity is constructed within the dialectic of agency and structure. This section provides a literature review of the debate that views refugees, on the one hand, as being passive recipients of structural constraints, and on the other hand, active participants in their resettlement.

*The Refugee as Passive Recipient*

By definition, refugees are constructed to be "persons in need" (Gold, 1993). Examining refugees in settlement camps, Mazur (1988) observed that refugees have unquestioningly been placed in the role of 'passive recipient'. Because, by definition, refugees require aid to escape from their home of origin, their helplessness remains to characterize them in the resettlement process. As Stein (1981) observed, upon arrival in their new environment, refugees must continue to display need and helplessness in order to legitimize and maintain their refugee status. In fact, studies have shown that refugees have been faced with strong negative reactions when they attempt to demonstrate self-determination and competence (Mazur, 1988, Harrell-Bond, 1986). Zetter (1999) argues that the

role concept of refugee revolves around the notion of sanctuary in which refugees are believed to have left behind essential requisites for self-sufficiency, such as economic and social support systems. Thus, the image of dependency and need is strengthened and maintained.

These constraining features of the 'refugee' label have real consequences. From the beginning of the asylum-seeking process, refugees passively wait to hear where and when they will be resettled. Several months may pass before a decision is finally reached (Bernier, 1992). When refugees do reach their destination, much remains out of their control. If placed in resettlement camps, refugees are systematically removed from essential decision-making processes concerning their resettlement. Because they are expected to condition their responses to appropriate 'refugee' behavior, administrators and frontline workers may not be expected to share with refugees information about resettlement practices and resources (Mazur, 1988). Moreover, any attempt on the part of refugees to offer insight into their problems and resource needs may be considered 'subjective, biased and uninformed'. The overall effect of this method of resettlement compels refugees "to redefine the way they present themselves" in order to get what they need (Mazur, 1988: 54).

As Harrell-Bond (1999: 143) argues, those refugees seeking aid are forced into a 'charity script'. Furthermore, Harrell-Bond (1999: 136) suggests that the 'help' refugees receive may actually act as a source of stress as they are often placed in a position "where they have no alternative but to receive". Harrell-Bond explains that disempowerment is the source of this stress. For example, Romano (1984) has revealed that those refugees who have some education or skills suffer the most in resettlement camps, experiencing depression and a great loss of self-respect as they reluctantly relinquish control over their lives. Indeed, it is often those refugees that have "given up their struggle for self-sufficiency" who enter resettlement camps as a last resort (Mazur, 1988: 54). Diane Bernier (1992) explains that, in general, refugee resettlement camps lack resources and staff and

focus acutely on bureaucratic procedures beyond the control of refugees, all of which leads to alienation, idleness and a overall loss of self-esteem in the refugee (Bernier, 1992).

The label of 'refugee' as it functions in this protective yet alienating environment has eliminated and denied individual agency. Generally, research efforts and settlement services are focussed on examining and treating refugees in a dependent context, one that is in line with their expected status - that of need and helplessness (Mazur, 1988). Researchers who have focussed on the refugee as active participant in the resettlement process first seek to redefine the individual refugee, allowing refugee self-identity and its integral link to resettlement to be dynamic and processual. For example, Daniel & Knudsen (1993) question how refugees move into the future and retrieve their former self (if this is possible) before the refugee experience. At the heart of this question lies another: Do refugees have the agency to reestablish a prior sense of self and have the ability/resources to control one's way of life in a new and seemingly alien environment? The next section reviews the available research examining the refugee as 'active participant'.

*The Refugee as Active Participant*

As mentioned above, a refugee as "a person in need" is reflected in research, settlement services and government policies. Only some research efforts scattered over a period several years since the 1980s have focussed on the active nature of refugees in the resettlement process (Haberhorn, 1981; Nair, 1980; Pryor, 1983; DeJong & Gardner, 1981; Kuo & Tsai,1986; Mazur, 1988; Gold, 1993). Gold (1993) points out that by focussing on narrow and confining definitions of refugee, research often overlooks the fact that self-determination and internal diversity characterize refugee populations. In line with the idea that refugees are not passive, Gold (1993) considers that refugee populations are in *constant change*, where

change is initiated via the interplay between societal institutions, policies and programs *and* refugee action.

Mazur (1988: 50) agrees that while they attempt "to cling to the familiar" in their new home and change "no more than is necessary", refugees are motivated to make a better life than what they left behind, and may be characterized as risk-takers and initiators. From a network perspective, Kuo & Tsai (1986) observe that refugees actively attempt to restore disrupted social networks and also attempt to align themselves with social networks similar to those made in their former home.

Other research promoting the participation of refugees suggests that in order to respond to refugees as heterogeneous populations and individuals, service providers must learn from and elicit the aid of refugees. For example, in her study of Soviet Jews in the United States, Joann Ivry (1992) found that these former refugees act as "ideal staff workers" who are able to both speak the language of recent refugees and are trained as social workers. Ivry suggests that these paraprofessional workers act as invaluable role models for newly-arrived refugees. Cultural and linguistic interpretive services allow refugees to make decisions about which services are appropriate for their needs and guide them on how to use a combination of mainstream and co-ethnic community agencies. In network terms, paraprofessionals may represent an important network link from one's ethnic enclave to the mainstream society. This need is most evident in ethnic populations displaying significant internal diversity. Seeking aid from workers who have an intimate understanding of the diversity of cultural knowledge that exists within their ethnic group may substantially improve the quality of services (Gold, 1989, Matsuoko & Sorenson, 1991, Gold & Kibria, 1993).

Despite the expressed concern that refugees are necessary elements in resettlement service provisions, research also points out various structural

limitations associated with refugee participation. Based on observations of a Cuban Refugee camp governed and policed by refugees, Lengyel (1989) identified the following problems: 1) The diversity of refugee needs were not represented by an elite group of refugee representatives; 2) It was believed that the covert goal of the U.S. government was to shift the responsibility and cost of resettlement to the refugee population; 3) Strained power relations developed between administration and frontline staff, stifling the flow of information.

Another study conducted by Abu-Laban and Lamba (1999) found that employing the aid of refugees in the area of health care met with little success. Health care providers in Edmonton expressed concern about professional responsibility. They argued that without a formal system and standardization of supervision in place, health volunteers may be unaware of or lack professional standards when administering health care services, thereby placing the client and themselves at risk.

**Summary**

The demographic profile of refugees within a given nation reflects its selection process and highlights implications for refugee identity and resettlement. A demographic profile of refugees in Canada reveals that over 24, 000 refugees were admitted in 1997 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997). A significant proportion of this population was government or privately sponsored, women being more greatly represented as dependents compared to men. Age breakdowns indicate that Canada places greater emphasis on admitting economically productive age groups compared to retired or near retired individuals. Presently, an emphasis is also being placed on admitting former Yugoslavian refugees compared to other ethnic groups.

Before an individual can even claim refugee status, he/she must successfully negotiate the first form of structural constraints imposed - the United Nations

universally accepted legal definition of refugee and this definition's socio-political expression. Ironically, although meant to protect persecuted individuals and encourage peaceful relations among nations, the United Nations policy of protecting state sovereignty and state relations has the potential to overlook individual claimants or cases considered unworthy of collective consideration. Thus, while seemingly unbiased and purely humanitarian as an ideological construct, the determination of refugee status is not isolated from political and economic circumstances.

Because refugees are often admitted under the auspices of a collective cause, their identity becomes subsumed under and defined via this cause. Researchers argue that both in practice and research refugees have traditionally been reduced to a single common denominator which eliminates distinctive life histories, reasons for escape, and personal goals and needs. Refugee labels have consequences for refugee agency. Socially constructed expectations of refugee passivity and dependence create institutions and procedures designed to encourage refugees to react to the circumstances of their resettlement. In addition, a variety of problems exist with employing the aid of refugees including: a) limited access to a variety of refugee experiences across and within ethnic populations; and b) concern over professional responsibility, for example in the area of health services. On the other hand, researchers point out that refugees are resourceful and proactive in their process of resettlement, particularly in reestablishing and/or reforming disrupted network structures. They also have specialized knowledge of the diversity within their own cultures and the complex nature of refugee experiences.

## D. Factors Affecting Refugee Resettlement

### Resettlement Services

An important aspect of refugee adjustment is the use of resettlement services offered by the host society. In Canada, both public and private sponsors provide financial services. For those refugees who require it, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) provides financial assistance for up to one year from the time of arrival. In addition, a variety of publicly-supported resettlement services are also available, as are services provided by private groups, such as religious and ethnic community organizations. The types of services available include language and citizenship instruction, employment and family counseling, reception, skills upgrading/training, aid in finding accommodation, health services, and children's educational services (Abu-Laban et. al, 1999).

Research generally focuses on the effectiveness of resettlement services on refugee integration. Two main areas of concern are addressed in the evaluation of services. First, researchers identify a problem regarding refugee access to services. Second, researchers are concerned with understanding how and in what way services facilitate resettlement. Do resettlement services aid self-sufficiency and adjustment or do they act to constrain refugees and other immigrants?
In terms of access to services, research has found that immigrants and, to a greater degree, refugees have weak family and extra-familial networks, particularly upon arrival in their new home. This means that refugees, in particular, must often rely on themselves to locate settlement services. The relative weakness of their social network structure lessens the chances of refugees readily locating and accessing resettlement services. However, even if refugees are fortunate enough to have developed a functional family and extra-familial network, the effectiveness of these network sources is debatable. According to Ho (1996, 1997), refugees in Edmonton, Canada do not access services to a significant degree mainly because they are unaware of them. It is

most likely the case that refugees' main sources of information, including family and ethnic community ties, are unaware of these services, as well. To ameliorate the problem, Ho recommends that programs need to be advertised more to reach those who require the services. Additionally, social service workers should be made aware of the range of services available to all types of immigrants. Ho also found that, when refugees actively search for services on their own, they often avoid names of organizations that appear not to address their needs. For example, a refugee may believe that the *Millwoods Centre for Immigrants* services immigrants and not refugees.

Abu-Laban & Lamba (1999) revealed similar findings in a study conducted on service provider perceptions of refugee and immigrant integration. For example, access to health care services was impeded due to a refugee's lack of awareness of such services. The study also found that refugees often discover education/training programs at a time when they are no longer eligible for assistance. This is particularly the case for women isolated in the home. In addition, females were less likely than males to access education and employment services. This finding applied, in particular, to women who were unemployed, in need of childcare, and had little or no English language knowledge. These women were usually isolated in the home and thus were unable to access a variety of education, employment and language training programs. Female refugees are often constrained by a patriarchal familial structure, ethno-religious role expectations, their lack of human and cultural capital in the form of language and training, and limited access to mainstream cultural knowledge.

In general, refugees experience great difficulty in gaining access to needed settlement services. However, what about those who can and do access available services? Current research suggests that networks developed in this sector can both constrain and enable refugees in various areas of adjustment. Because most research is evaluative in nature, barriers and constraining features of settlement

services are emphasized. Studies focus on two major issues. First, research focuses on the deficiencies of present programs or the absence of needed programs. Second, and related to the first concern, a number of studies focus on the control refugees have in the development and delivery of resettlement programs.

*Program Deficiencies and Gaps*

Research has identified numerous deficiencies in programs and has offered a number of recommendations to improve existing services. In the area of health, a number of studies discuss the issues of trust and cultural insensitivity in the delivery of health care services (Christensen, 1992; Le-Doux & Stephens, 1992; Ivry, 1992; Stephenson, 1995; Gold, 1996; Abu-Laban & Lamba, 1999; Veenstra, 2001). For example, immigrant and refugee women of particular cultures prefer female doctors, particularly when dealing with pregnancy or other reproductive health issues. In addition, nutritional needs, eating habits, and hygiene practices differ across cultures. Yet, many health care professionals remain unaware of these cultural differences (Abu-Laban & Lamba, 1999). As Veenstra (2001: 76) observes, this position of inequality for refugees discourages participation in the public health care system and leads to greater mistrust, both of which negatively impact the health of refugees.

In the area of education and employment, Abu-Laban & Lamba (1999) found that service providers in Edmonton believed that English language and employment training programs were ill-equipped to deal with the special needs of immigrants and refugees. For example, refugees and/or immigrants who are not literate in any language require more intensive English language training than those who have previous educational experience. This is particularly the case for refugee and immigrant youth. Another major concern voiced by service providers in this study involved the issue of financial capital investment. Service providers recognized that there were few, if any, programs designed to inform

immigrants about the state of the Canadian economy and how to make profitable investments.

*Sponsorship*

Like other settlement services, *sponsorship* represents a network tie, and functions as a potential network generator and a source of cultural capital. Sponsorship services, either government or private services, offer refugees a means to escape from their former country and provide refugees support upon arrival in their new home. Most research focuses on the positive influence of sponsor-refugee relationships. Indeed, in many ways, this type of network tie offers refugees a positive start in the early stages of resettlement. In terms of instrumental support, research suggests that refugees find financial assistance to be the greatest benefit accrued from sponsorship (Indra, 1993; Chan & Lam, 1987; Dorais et al., 1987). In addition, as a network advantage, sponsors function to provide refugees with household and other material goods, access to language training, and employment opportunities (Indra, 1993). Some research suggests that private sponsors, as opposed to government sponsors, have been recognized as a more satisfying relationship. For example, Chan & Lam (1983) found that Vietnamese refugees in Montreal prefer private sponsors to government sponsors because the former established closer interpersonal ties, and were more likely to ensure that refugees' needs were met.

Sponsors or host families may act as effective resources in launching the process of developing a cultural link with the new environment. By helping insert refugees into mainstream public spaces, such as work places or educational institutions and a variety of public and private spaces, sponsors or host volunteers can support refugees in strengthening their ability to learn and reproduce the operations of daily life, and to negotiate the ultimate values defined by the dominant, mainstream society.

However, research has also shown that private sponsorship may entail various structural constraints hampering adjustment. In terms of institutional constraints, Indra argues that since greater responsibility for sponsorship has been transferred from the government sector to the volunteer sector, private sponsorship is increasingly becoming the only alternative for refugees. Indra also noted various structural constraints inherent in the sponsor-refugee relationship. Specifically, she found that unequal power relations characterized the sponsorship experience of Southeast Asian refugees in Montreal. Using Marcel Mauss' theory of the gift, Indra explains that sponsorship is similar to gift giving. In gift giving, "unequal power is the essence of the relationship between the giver and the recipient - until the gift is reciprocated". Indra (1993: 244) explains that the class- and media-based stereotypes of refugees as 'helpless' and 'in need of charity' places refugees in a position in which they are not expected to return gifts of equal value. However, they are often required to express their appreciation

> through demonstrations of true worthiness as 'persons in need', through expressions of submission, passivity, dependence and good moral character, and especially through positively supporting the role of charitable giver by appearing grateful and never complaining about what is being given or the conditions of giving.

Chan and Lam (1983) also examined various constraints arising from sponsor-refugee relationships among Vietnamese-Canadian refugees in Montreal. Chan & Lam (1983) observed that over the span of eight to twelve months, refugees interacted less intensely and frequently with their sponsors. Reasons given for this deteriorating relationship involved several issues. Chan & Lam found that sponsors generally lack standard definitions of roles, responsibilities and obligations of sponsorship, leaving the refugee vulnerable to a sponsor's individual judgements and biases.

A recent study (Abu-Laban, Derwing, Mulder, & Northcott, 2001) examined the sponsorship experiences of 8000 Kosovar refugees airlifted to Canada in a span of three weeks in May, 1999. The study found that undefined sponsor roles and cultural misunderstandings compromised the effectiveness of the sponsorship experience for some refugees. For example, some sponsors took full financial responsibility for refugee families, placing tremendous pressure on the refugees to become economically self-sufficient and to avoid becoming financially indebted to their sponsor. With respect to cultural misunderstandings, some newcomers complained of being forced into violating cultural norms, for example, those dealing with child birth and birth control.

*Summary of Research on Resettlement Services*

Resettlement services as sources of network ties, potential network and human capital generators, and forms of cultural capital may be valuable aids in the resettlement process of refugees. However, the utility of refugee aid is dependent upon a number of factors. Accessibility of services is a major concern for refugees who, because of a relatively weak network structure, may remain unaware of existing services. A refugee's familial or extra-familial network may also lack sufficient knowledge of the variety of services available, and the limited eligibility status built in to each service. Women, in particular, may be unable to access services, due to cultural constraints.

Although a potentially useful form of cultural capital and a venue to increase one's human capital, resettlement services are not without major deficiencies. A number of issues affect the quality of resettlement services received. These include issues regarding cultural sensitivity and trust between service provider and immigrant, language barriers, a refugee's passive access of services, assessment of refugee skills and educational status, and the quality of information regarding significant forms of cultural knowledge, such as the state of Canada's economy and business sector.

Sponsorship, as a specialized form of resettlement services, is considered a valuable source of capital and functions as a network tie and potential network generator. However, like other forms of services, sponsorship engenders various institutional, informational and social structural constraints. Cultural differences in perceptions of refugee status and identity combined with conflicting views of obligation, sponsorship responsibilities and gratitude may create tension, undermining the potential worth of the sponsorship relationship.

## Familial Ties and Resettlement

### *Family Networks as Enabling*

Family support has been identified as an important factor in the resettlement process of immigrants and refugees. Although not explicitly stated as such in all studies, much research has considered familial network ties as a valuable source of social capital (Boyd, 1989; Grieco, 1987, 1998; Portes, 1998; Valenzuela & Dornbush (1994); Hagan et al., 1996; Gold, 1996; Whitmore, 1996; Sanders & Nee, 1996).

Research shows that kin networks act as initial ambassadors to the new country by exposing newcomers "to a bewildering array of strange customs and institutions" within the familiar shelter of the former home's cultural orientations (Chimbos & Agocs, 1983: 43). As Chimbos & Agocs (1983: 44) observe, "kin networks... are the structural links...which mediate the migrant's integration into the new society." Similarly, Gold observed that these "localized communities" of family and close friends become refugees' "modal social units" (Gold, 1993: 24). More specifically, cooperation in these localized communities result in the creation of friendships, marital prospects, access to employment opportunities, education information, access to accommodations, financial aid and so on (Gold, 1993, Chimbos & Agocs, 1983). Furthermore, Boyd (1989: 645) explains that migrants are motivated to move together as a family unit in order to establish economic

security in their new home and to improve their capital base. Gold & Kibria (1993) found that money and other resources from interconnected residential units are pooled in order to cope with economic instabilities and the necessities of daily life. In addition, other resources, such as information regarding employment and aid with translation, hospitals, training centers, transportation, and resettlement and welfare agencies were exchanged. Various forms of household labour, such as childcare, auto repair and food preparation were also a part of the network of aid received and given. Furthermore, Koser (1997: 603) found that exchanging these forms of aid seemed to depend on how close in proximity individuals are in a network system.

Such household strategies, however may not be available to refugees, as many refugee families do not migrate as a unit. In fact, some families may never reunite. Consequently, refugee migration conditions, as opposed to voluntary migration conditions, may thwart the development of household strategies needed to secure economic and social stability. A rare instance of refugees arriving to their new home as intact families took place in Canada during the airlift of 8000 Kosavar refugees in May, 1999. The concentrated effort of Citizenship and Immigration Canada to keep immediate and extended family members together during the airlifts, at the sustainment sites and, ultimately at destined communities, was unprecedented. The result of this effort was that during the early stages, Kosovars who resettled with immediate and extended family members reported higher levels of happiness and lower levels of stress compared to their non-Kosavar counterparts. As it stands now, the reestablishment of family networks is slow for the majority of refugees in Canada. In these cases, a (justified) preoccupation with family reunification only serves to aggravate the process of economic and social integration (Abu-Laban et. al, 2001).

*Family Networks as Constraints*

Although kin ties generally have been thought of as significant facilitators in refugee and immigrant adjustment, other research has demonstrated the constraining quality of networks (Chimbos & Agocs, 1983; Herman, 1978; Anderson and Christie, 1978; Wellman, 1981). Examining support networks, Wellman (1981) observed that most network research considers only the facilitating quality of ties, ignoring ties which cause conflict or are unsupportive or disruptive.

In the case of immigrants and refugees, there has been much debate regarding the consequences associated with the ethnic enclave and the family economy. In many ways, access to the ethnic enclave via family ties works in a refugee's favor. Recent migrants seeking employment often benefit from access to a family business. An inability to communicate in English and/or a lack of knowledge about the occupational structure of the host society can be inconsequential for a refugee who finds employment within his/her own ethnic group. On the other hand, researchers have argued that a degree of blocked mobility may result within an ethnic enclave (Chimbos & Agocs, 1983; Lam, 1994; Boyd, 1989). Boyd (1983) and Chimbos & Agocs (1983) argue that ethnic firms often exploit newly-arrived migrants by offering them low-paying, dead-end jobs in poor working environments. Upward mobility in this scenario is unlikely. This is particularly the case for female refugees and immigrants who lack English proficiency and occupational skills required for employment opportunities beyond the ethnic group boundary (Boyd, 1989). In particular, female migrants are more likely to be used as cheap but necessary sources of labour in the family economy (Boyd, 1989).

Constraints within the family may also impact family cohesion and individual well-being. Differences in cultural norms regarding gender role expectations, for example, may create strain within families. This is particularly true of families

who require multiple sources of income, but traditionally have discouraged females from entering the workforce. The tensions arising from issues regarding the division of labour within families can be intense and cause abuse within families (Man, 1996; Howell, 1996; Abu-Laban & Lamba, 1999).

Offering a fitting example of the complex nature of enabling and constraining networks, Bankston's (1995) study argues that patriarchal-based social controls placed on women in the Vietnamese immigrant community in the United States actually advance, rather than inhibit, the scholastic performance of young Vietnamese women. Bankston observed that Vietnamese families believe that education offers females, in particular, the opportunity to a) learn the skills required to contribute economically to their future families; b) become suitable wives to a high status husband; c) enhance the status of the female's family of origin. Thus, as Bankston (1995: 174) explains,

> If the academic performance of young Vietnamese-American women exceeds that of young men, it is not because their families want women to be better educated than men, but because the families exercise greater controls over the women, making the women more subject to family and community expectations.

The irony of this situation is that while community constraints (i.e., gender role expectations) exist, they actually allow women to explore various educational and career opportunities in America that may have been otherwise denied to women in Vietnam. However, while opportunities within ethnic group and larger societal structures may offer youth educational and career advancement, the same may not be the case for older immigrants, particularly for females. For example, Tran (1988) found that Vietnamese immigrant women who are over 40 are less likely than older men to work at improving their English skills. Tran explains that gender role expectations isolate these women within the household,

thereby restricting opportunities to advance their English skill level either through training or practice.

Furthermore, immigrant women isolated in the home are unable to access a variety of education, employment and language training programs. Literature supporting the "strength of weak ties" (Granovetter, 1973; Kuo & Tsai, 1986; Wilcox, 1981; Hirsch, 1981; Quizumbing, 1982; Portes, 1998) has suggested that dense networks "may trap the individual within a limited set of normative expectations, information and social contacts, rather than fulfill [the] need to make a transition to new social roles" (Walker et al, 1977: 36).

These studies provide an important observation about the nature of network systems and their effects on adjustment. That is, family pressure to maintain ethnic group customs and expectations does not ensure identical expression and outcome among individuals as geographical settings or, more broadly, structural conditions change. Family networks may constrain and/or enable depending on the complex relationship between ethnic group expectations and larger societal socio-economic forces.

**Community and Resettlement: The Impact of Ethnic Community Association and Interactions With the Host Community**

What is the impact of ethnic community identification and solidarity on refugee and immigrant adjustment? Until the 1960s, research typically focussed on the maladaptive effect that ethnic group solidarity had on immigrant adjustment, particularly because full mainstream assimilation (meaning, abandonment of ethnic group characteristics) was seen as a requirement of successful adaptation (Gold, 1993; Herberg, 1988, Driedger, 1989). Contemporary views, however, focus on both the benefits and disadvantages of community identification and solidarity in immigrant and refugee adjustment. Constraints, however, are not viewed from an ethnocentric point of view. Contemporary research does not equate community

identification as 'disadvantage' because of an inability for immigrants and refugees to assimilate into the mainstream society. Rather, disadvantages are viewed as constraints *inherent in the* ethnic community which deter refugee and immigrant individuals from achieving a personal sense of successful resettlement.

As mentioned above, ethnic enclaves provide refugees with a variety of resources. In particular, researchers have demonstrated that large-scale ethnic solidarity is a key factor in fostering immigrants' economic adaptation (Light, 1972, Cummings, 1980; Portes & Bach, 1985; Portes & Manning, 1986; Portes, 1987; Kim, 1981; Light & Bonacich, 1988). Ethnic group networks function in much the same way as kin networks, providing newly-arrived refugees and immigrants with access to accommodations, employment information and a range of community benefits, including friendship and marital prospects. As a source of solidarity, Hung & Haines (1996: 317) found that among Vietnamese in the United States, community enclaves promote a sense of identity and belonging for uprooted refugees.

However, while benefits exist, problems within communities may act to thwart the adjustment process. Related to the dilemma of ethnic enclave entrapment, not every ethnic group can provide for their immigrant or refugee populations. This is primarily due to a lack of resources (Putnam, 1993, Portes, 1998). For example, in the Vietnamese community in the United States, opportunities for upward mobility are limited because the community itself lacks important forms and sources of capital, such as formal and informal loan institutions, information about licensing for businesses, and connections to the mainstream entrepreneurial community. (Gold & Kibria, 1993). As a result, few refugees moved into the middle or *stable* working class. In contrast, research has shown that Soviet Jews and Cubans are two refugee populations who have adapted well economically. This is so because the network structure of these groups provide refugees with access to a wide range of U.S.-based resources and an extensive network of resettlement services (Simon, 1985; Eckles et al., 1982). Similarly,

Ooka & Wellman (2001) found that individuals who are members of low-status ethnic groups (i.e., low in capital) gain higher incomes if they develop ties outside their ethnic group than if they sought aid from within their group. In contrast, individuals embedded within a high-status group (i.e., with substantial stocks of capital) achieve better employment opportunities if they rely on ties within their own group. Furthermore, as Willms argues (2001), inequalities among individuals are reduced where there is a high level of community social capital.

To make matters more difficult, researchers have also noted tensions within ethnic communities which discourage the development of effective network structures (Finnan & Cooperstein, 1983; Nguyen and Henkin, 1984; Skinner, 1980). For example, among Vietnamese communities in the U.S., there exists many divisions and mutual suspicions based on religion, ethnicity, class and so on (Gold & Kibria, 1993). Unable to sustain meaningful network structures in this atmosphere of distrust, Vietnamese refugees find themselves at a disadvantage in the economic adjustment process. As a result, many refugees were motivated to increase their stock of human capital, and therefore their economic potential, by learning the language, behaviors and customs of the larger American society.

*Discrimination/Racism as a Constraint*

Discrimination is a central issue when considering the receptiveness of host communities. Immigrants sharing a cultural and physical similarity to those of the mainstream majority face fewer obstacles (Lamba & Wilkinson, 1997), such as 'fitting in' to the broader society. For example, Peter Li (1996: 14) found that Canadians, especially Anglophones, found immigrants from Asian and Carribbean countries to be less preferable than immigrants from the United States and Europe. Expressions of racism in society may also have consequences for long-term integration for visible minority immigrants and refugees. The label "immigrant", as

a constraining social construct, is often equated with 'visible minority' or non-white. Writing about the consequences of systemic racism on the economic mobility and cultural integration of racial minorities in Canada, Taffesse argues (1997: 499) that despite the fact that some racial minority communities have been in Canada for several generations, they tend to be thought of as "'immigrant' outsiders" threatening the cultural traditions of Canadian society. However, as Peter Li (2001: 84) argues, "it remains a yet-to-be proven claim that non-white immigrants possess such different cultural beliefs that they would undermine Canadian values, traditions, and institutions". Furthermore, Li suggests that it is the racial subtext embedded in immigration discourse, media reports, public opinion polls about racial preference, and attitudinal surveys examining "social distance" which legitimizes and sustains the alleged cultural incompatibility among racial groups in Canada. A consequence of this entrenched discourse is that racial minorities are prevented from achieving full acceptance by members of the mainstream, perhaps causing an increased distaste for aggregate-level activities and associations with the larger society. Similarly, Himani Bannerji recognizes the insider-outsider status characterizing visible minority native-born citizens and immigrants in Canada. Including herself as member of a racialized minority, Bannerji writes (2000: 90, 91),

> There is a fundamental unease with how our difference is construed and constructed by the state, how our otherness in relation to Canada is projected and objectified. We cannot be successfully ingested, or assimilated, or made to vanish from where we are not wanted. We remain an ambiguous presence, our existence a question mark in the side of the nation, with the potential to disclose much about the political unconscious and consciousness of Canada...

*Developing a Sense of Belonging and Canadian Identity*

Developing a sense of belonging to a Canadian identity is an important dimension of social and cultural integration. An inability to develop a sense of self-identification with the new home can seriously undermine successful integration, and in some cases, promote the desire to repatriate (Young, 1996).

Researchers face two challenges in examining the issue of identity and belonging among immigrants and refugees. First, multiple factors promote or detract from developing a sense of belonging and identity. A longer length of residence in the new environment (Young, 1996), satisfaction with one's economic integration, family network and social ties outside one's inner circle of ties, degree of psychological and somatic stress (Dona & Berry, 1994), racism and other forms of discrimination and immigrant labelling (Taffesse, 1997, Bannerji, 2000, Li, 2001), a continued attachment and loyalty to one's former home and culture, and ascribed characteristics such as gender (McSpadden & Moussa, 1993), age, and visible minority status (Bannerji, 2000) are only some of the key factors affecting self-identification as a Canadian and developing a sense of belonging with other citizens.

Another challenge of examining identity and belonging lies in the fact that the boundaries of the Canadian identity have never been explicitly defined and fully articulated. Because of its multi-cultural history, researchers do not assume the nature of Canadian identity. Rather they suggest its existence by isolating specific types of social and cultural integration unique to the Canadian context. Social and cultural integration in Canada can mean integrating into and identifying with co-ethnic Canadian communities, participating in public domains, such as politics and other aggregate-level forms of membership, or can involve issues relating to citizenship (Howard, 1998, Quell, 1988). Collectively, these forms of integration indirectly inform us about what being a Canadian entails and indirectly suggest self-identification and belonging.

Despite the interest and literature devoted to this subject, however, one potentially critical factor remains largely neglected -- the impact of refugees' and immigrants' network ties on self-identification and belonging within Canada. It appears that for the most part, Canadian studies focus primarily on examining how co-ethnic networks function to integrate new ethnic members into the Canadian diasporan community. One noteworthy study conducted by Moghaddam et. al (1989), however, examines the impact of immigrants' ties on a sense of feeling like a Canadian.

Focussing on Haitian and Indian immigrant women in Montreal the study examined attitudes toward heritage cultural maintenance and developing a sense of belonging and self-identification as a Canadian. The researchers found that feeling Canadian is associated with weaker links to the ethnic community and stronger links to a mainstream Canadian environment. In addition, respondents who retained social networks exclusively within their ethnic group experienced a decreased sense of belonging within Canada. This is not to say, however, that respondents rejected the idea that being Canadian entails a multi-cultural element. Respondents who expressed a strong sense of ethnic cultural maintenance also believed that Canadian society values the "ethnic label" or a multi-cultural character.

In social capital terms, these conclusions support Pamela Paxton's (2000: 103) observation that increased aggregate-level association can function to move an individual beyond self-interest (or in the case of ethnic group segregation, collective interest) "to a consideration of the public good and the promotion of a common identity" -- all of which may promote a sense of belonging and a larger sense of being Canadian. Raymond Breton (1997) shares this argument stating that increasing social capital to links outside the ethnic boundary facilitates social trust among members in a multi-cultural environment. It should be noted here, however, that while ethnic group segregation may not be functional in

terms of promoting a common sense of identity, it is often the reality that ethnic group communities act as initial ambassadors to newcomers, protecting them from an, at times, unfriendly and racially hostile mainstream environment (Moghaddam et. al, 1989).

*Summary of Research on Community and Familial Ties*

A review of the literature suggests that family networks, developed through blood relatives or fictive kin[5], provide essential forms of assistance during the various stages of resettlement for refugees. Kin networks act as structural links mediating the various aspects of economic, social, and cultural integration. Family networks are of particular value to refugees, who may be less likely than other immigrants to have substantial and useful forms of capital upon arrival in their new home. As a form of social capital, community networks may also act to facilitate refugee adjustment. Similar to kin networks, community ties provide refugees with various forms of economic support and socio-cultural benefits.

However, while family ties and community ties can act as forms of social capital enabling integration, they may also constrain. Family and community networks may constrain and/or enable employment and educational advancement depending on the complex relationship between cultural expectations and larger socio-economic forces. For example, while family networks and the broader ethnic enclave may aid economic integration, ethnic firms may also exploit newcomers and thwart any opportunity for upward mobility. Furthermore, members of ethnic communities without a substantial stock of capital are vulnerable to blocked mobility. In addition, ethnic communities may be plagued by internal tensions and divisiveness, preventing refugees from developing and accessing reliable and trustworthy social support networks.

[5] According to Eshleman and Wilson (1998), fictive kinship involves patterns of exchange with non-related friends. These exchange patterns resemble kin relations in which services, support and material goods are offered.

Racial discrimination present in the mainstream host society also acts as a constraint. In general, obstacles from discrimination are enhanced for individuals who are physically and culturally dissimilar from the mainstream society. The 'immigrant' label which is usually placed on racial minorities also may create long-term adjustment difficulties for refugees in all areas of adjustment, including economic mobility, cultural integration and societal acceptance.

Building a sense of belonging and self-identification as a Canadian depends on a variety of factors. In terms of social capital, research suggests that ethnic segregation tends to decrease a sense of identity as a Canadian. While Canadian identity is seen by immigrants as entailing a multi-cultural character, developing social networks within the broader, mainstream society may function to promote a common national identity.

## Economic Factors of Adjustment: Employment, Education and Residential Adjustment

### *Factors Affecting Employment Adjustment*

The employment adjustment of refugees and other immigrants involves various dimensions. Research has examined several measures of employment adjustment including earnings growth within occupations, occupational attainment (intended versus actual occupation) and occupational mobility. (Green, 1994; Guillermina & Rosenzweig, 1995). Subjective indicators of economic adjustment have also been measured. For example, Indra (1993) suggests that privately-sponsored refugees who compare their own lifestyles with their sponsors' experience feelings of relative deprivation.

Research has identified a range of factors determining the employment success of newcomers to Canada. English language proficiency, recognition of foreign credentials, level and type of education, work experience, length of residence in the receiving society, age, sex and visible minority status are among the key predictors of employment status, career development and income level (Hein, 1993; Haines, 1996).

Piche, Renaud & Gingras (1997) offer several noteworthy findings about employment adjustment among newcomers in Quebec. Factors such as age, sex, education and work experience were found to significantly influence income levels and socio-economic status. In particular, they found that, in addition to work experience, being young and male, facilitates finding a first job (Piche et al., 1997). In addition, as duration of residence increases, Piche et al. (1997) suggest that immigrants develop 'strategies', such as establishing effective network structures, to improve their employment opportunities.

Several factors which may prevent newcomers from achieving their employment goals are also part of the adjustment process. For example, a recent study released by the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (Kunz, Milan, & Schetagne, 2001) supports the position that subtle forms of discrimination, such as not being considered for a promotion or being excluded from the 'inner circle' at their place of employment, can seriously undermine career advancement. This is particularly the case for visible minority immigrants. (Kunz et al., 2000).

To complicate matters further, various forms of *systemic* discrimination may be operating to effectively deny refugees access to professional level occupations. In order to maintain high standards, professional associations and trade unions function as *labour market shelters* (Krahn & Lowe, 1998) by applying stringent standards in the adjudication of foreign credentials. Related to this is the issue of Canadian work experience. For example, despite having successfully completed the Medical Council of Canada examinations, many foreign medical doctors are

unable to receive an internship within Canada. This barrier prompted the 1999 Human Rights Commission of British Columbia to rule that the College of Physicians and Surgeons was guilty of discrimination against foreign doctors (Krahn, Derwing, Mulder & Wilkinson, 2000). Krahn et al. (2000) also draw attention to the increasing institutionalization of downward mobility exercised by educational institutions. Edmonton's Grant McEwan Community College, for instance, offers a "fast track" nursing program for former medical professionals such as cardiac surgeons, gynecologists and radiologists (Ohler, 1999). Institutionalizing the rejection of foreign credentials reinforces the barriers that prevent access to employment commensurate with previous education and experience.

There are significant differences in how these factors play out between refugee and immigrant populations. Demographically, refugee and immigrant populations differ significantly. Many refugee populations consist of women, children, the elderly, and people who suffer from poor mental and physical health. Research suggests that network ties may negatively influence the labour force participation of these vulnerable groups. For example, Bach & Carrol-Sequin (1986) found that Southeast Asian refugee women who were sponsored by relatives had lower labour force participation rates than those women who were sponsored by other American families or church groups.

Where refugees are destined represents another factor influencing economic adjustment, something which independent immigrants may not have to deal with. A recent study of Alberta refugees reveals that destination has consequences for the subsequent migration and adjustment patterns of refugees (Abu-Laban, 1999). Results show that refugees were more likely to move from smaller communities to larger cities because of a lack of employment and educational opportunities available in the smaller centres.

In terms of welfare dependency, research conducted in Canada suggests that admission class affects an immigrant's income assistance dependency. In general, immigrants rely on transfer payments and public services less than native born Canadians (Blau, 1984, Akbari & Simon, 1994, Lui-Gurr, 1994). However, Lui-Gurr's (1944: 150) study of immigrants in British Columbia suggests that once immigrants demonstrate a need for income assistance they are more likely to receive higher welfare payments and stay on welfare for a longer time than the Canadian born population. Furthermore, this study suggests that refugee families face more acute employment barriers than native born families and independent immigrants and questions the effectiveness of and refugee accessibility to language and employment services.

In terms of human and economic capital, while immigrants have time and capital (human, economic and perhaps a greater degree of cultural capital) to prepare for their move, refugees have fewer resources to plan for their new life, learn relevant skills or aquire capital (Portes, 1984; Boswell & Curtis, 1984; Fagen et al., 1986; Rumbaut, 1986; Gold & Kibria, 1993). For example, voluntary or independent immigrants not only have a current stock of capital, but they also retain the privilege of maintaining productive trading relationships with their home country (Gold & Kibria, 1993). Because refugees may have essentially cut off all ties with their home of origin and may have little accumulated capital, networking in their new home becomes an essential requirement and one of their few potential assets. As mentioned above, kin and co-ethnic community networks are primary sources of economic adjustment and can even be considered more valuable than public programs (Hein, 1993, Tilly & Brown, 1974, Gold & Kibria, 1993, Sanders & Nee, 1996). However, despite these sources of aid, refugees may still remain at a disadvantage, particularly if they lack employable skills. As mentioned above, the consequences of entering into an ethnic enclave business may represent an economic liability or constraint, particularly for female migrants (Boyd, 1989). Furthermore, as stated above, the search for economic stability is particularly problematic for refugees who belong

to ethnic groups which have limited capital. Thus, although co-ethnic networks may be used as "strategies for survival", they may function little beyond that (Gold and Kibria, 1993).

*Factors Affecting Educational Adjustment/Attainment*

In capital terms, education is a form of human and cultural capital and has significant consequences on refugee resettlement. As noted above, level of education is considered a major predictor of occupational attainment, career enhancement, and income level. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1997) reveals that 44% of the refugees admitted in 1997 had completed post-secondary courses, a degree, a diploma or a trade certificate. Another indicator of education adjustment is English language proficiency, which is also a major determinant of occupational adjustment. Over one-thirds (41%) of the 24, 222 immigrants and refugees admitted in 1997 stated that they knew English (CIC, 1997), although this tells us little about their level of English proficiency. Proficiency in English is essential for increasing access to the mainstream society, greatly affecting the quality of economic use-value of refugees' social network structure (Willms, 2001). As mentioned above, community and kin networks are also instrumental in determining education advancement.

*Factors Affecting Residential Adjustment: Owning a Home*

Purchasing a home indicates the power of refugees' financial status. The ability to buy a home suggests that refugees have been able to 'cash in' on their accumulated stock of social and human capital. In capital terms, purchasing property is a concrete and measurable return on one's investment in social and human capital (Fernandez, Castilla, & Moore, 2000). Representing a successful move towards fitting into the social fabric of Canadian society, owning a home communicates a statement of success (Ray & Moore, 1991). Moreover, owning

a home represents a significant move toward establishing a sense of permanency and security in Canada.

Using Giddens' conceptualization of the term, research has suggested that buying a home can offer individuals a sense of *ontological security* (Saunders, 1984, 1986; Dupuis & Thorns, 1998). For refugees, in particular, buying a permanent residence is a strong indication that they feel secure about staying in Canada. It suggests that refugees have found a stable place to reconnect with a sense of self that existed prior to the refugee experience, and a means to depart from a 'charity script' status often associated with being a refugee. Furthermore, once a permanent home is established, refugees are able to re-build a sense of routinization, a state of constancy which was denied during the transient stages of uprooting and resettlement. According to Giddens (1995: 37), "the routinization of day-to-day life... is the single most important source of ontological security." Dupuis and Thorns' (1998) study of New Zealand homeowners applies Giddens' conceptualization of *ontological security* to home ownership, suggesting that owning a home offers individuals

> ...constancy in the social and material environment...a spatial context in which the day to day routines of human existence are performed... Home is a site where people feel most in control of their lives because they feel free from the surveillance that is part of the contemporary world... Home is a secure base around which identities are constructed.

These experiences of ontological security as applied to home ownership are particularly relevant to refugees. Owning a home offers a space in a foreign environment which refugees can control. Having been through a period of constant surveillance and persecution, a home can offer refugees a place where they can be "themselves and at ease" (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998: 2), and be protected from their new environment (i.e., in Canada) which could often be

perceived as threatening and unmanageable (Saunders, 1984, 1986). On the other hand, Dupuis and Thorns (1998) suggest that renting represents transience and disempowerment, resulting in lost capital and restrictions in lifestyle choices (such as decor options and having pets). Moreover, Abu-Laban et. al (1998) found that fear of eviction and discrimination, both of which undermine a sense of security, were complaints of refugees who rented.

Owning a house is also tied with the notion of home and family. As Dupuis and Thorns (1998: 5) observed from their study, a home involves "...a deeply emotional set of meanings to do with permanence and continuity." Houses are purchased, family members create a home. As indicated throughout this chapter, family networks are central in the adjustment process for refugees. A permanent home, as opposed to a house, provides not only a secure living environment, but represents a space in which a sense of family can be established, or in the case of refugees, *re*-established. For refugees, because they may be separated from family members for months or years, making the transition from house to home may be a difficult yet highly desirable goal. Furthermore, from the viewpoint of social capital, the commitment of buying a new home indicates not only an investment in property, but as Glaeser (2001) argues, reflects an investment toward developing a reliable, stable and productive social network of both familial and extra-familial ties in Canada.

Few studies examine the homeownership status of immigrants, and refugees, in particular. Ray & Moore's 1991 study is among the few that examine access to homeownership among immigrants in Canada. In this study, the authors identify a number of interacting factors determining owning a home including immigrants' region of origin, marital status, education, income, location, year of immigration, length of residence in Canada, and timing of immigration as it relates to housing markets in Canada. Having sufficient capital to own a home increases as length of residence in Canada increases. They also found that immigrants originating from economically-depressed countries, such as

Haitians, had lower rates of home ownership, while immigrants from the United States and Europe had the highest rates, particularly in Ontario and Quebec. Furthermore, single immigrant parents or single immigrants were more likely to be renters than married immigrants.

*Summary of Research on Employment, Education and Residential Adjustment*

Economic adjustment entails a variety of objective indicators and subjective dimensions. While increased length of residence, prior education/work experience, and knowledge of English allows immigrants to develop strategies to improve their economic status, a variety of structural constraints may impede their progress, such as institutionalized downward mobility and other forms of discrimination.

Researchers suggest that refugees suffer greater barriers than other immigrants and native born citizens in accessing and generating various forms of capital and, hence, economic opportunities. Most refugee females, children and elderly are considered unemployable, at least, in the early stages of resettlement. Place of destination, a uniquely refugee experience, also has real consequences on subsequent migration and refugee adjustment. Because of the numerous barriers in employment adjustment, refugees may access welfare services more than immigrants. Refugees, compared to other immigrants, also lack substantial forms of human, economic and cultural capital as they enter Canada, and/or have relatively fewer network ties (social capital) available to them to increase and constructively utilize their current stock of capital. Proficiency in the English language is a valuable human capital resource in integrating economically and socially in Canada.

The move toward buying a home indicates that refugees feel secure and stable in their new environment and are committed to not only making a material investment, but an investment in social capital, as well. Thus, in addition to

being a statement of economic success, owning a home also allows refugees to establish a sense of ontological security by providing a sense of control, a routined lifestyle, a safe and secure living space, and an environment to freely express and re-establish a sense of identity which encompasses more than one's refugee status.

**Health and Resettlement**

While it cannot be assumed that "social change itself" will always lead to ill health (Kuo & Tsai, 1986; Fitinger & Schwartz, 1981; Kuo, 1976; Hull, 1979; Sue and Morishima 1982; Jones and Korchin, 1982), refugees do face major health issues throughout the resettlement process. Upon arrival in their new home, many refugees suffer from serious mental and/or physical problems stemming from the destructive socio-political conditions present in their home of origin. Traumatic experiences, such as war, genocide, persecution, imprisonment, rape and other forms of physical torture continue to feed upon a refugee's mental and physical health well beyond the first months of arrival. The most common mental disorders include post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), combat stress reaction (CSR) and depressive disorders, in which grief plays a major role (Kemp, 1999). Bernier (1992: 23) notes that trauma can lead to various disorders, such as recurring nightmares, avoidance behaviors, aggressive fits and dissociative phenomena, all of which can be intense and short term, but may also be chronic and/or not surface until well into resettlement.

As resettlement continues, refugees face an excessive amount of social stress including social isolation, conflicts with culture expectations and mainstream institutions, role changes and identity crises (Bernier, 1992). In this context of social disorientation and self-reevaluation, securing basic needs, gaining employment and training/education, and seeking accommodation can be overwhelming psychologically and physically (Kemp, 1999). In addition, stress due to loss of or separation from loved ones and one's former culture can be

compared with bereavement, leading to similar symptoms such as depression, suicidal thoughts/attempts, withdrawal, and self-isolation (Chan & Lam, 1983; Eisenbruch, 1988; Bernier, 1992; Kemp, 1999). In turn, physical and psychological problems arising from these stressors further impede successful adjustment (Bernard, 1977; Cohon, 1981; Chan & Indra, 1987; Boswell & Curtis, 1984; Rose, 1985; Gold & Kibria, 1993).

If physical disorders did not already exist prior to entering their new home, refugees will usually manifest physical or somatic symptoms resulting from psychological conditions as resettlement proceeds. For example, psychological distress can cause headaches, joint and muscle pain and/or abdominal disorders (Kemp, 1999). Despite this, research has shown that refugees draw from various resources to deal with a variety of health issues. At the level of personality, for example, Kemp (1999) suggests that preparedness for trauma (i.e., political activists generally expect traumatic experiences) and/or a sense of spirituality may protect refugees from experiencing chronic and/or acute forms of PTSD. Other factors contributing to health adjustment include age, gender, length of residence, and use of settlement and mainstream health services. Generally, young children (especially orphans), female heads of household, and the elderly are particular vulnerable to serious and/or sustained health problems (Mazur, 1988). However, in combination with general pre-migration experiences and personal characteristics, as length of residence in the new home increases, a refugee's mental health generally improves (Beiser, 1988). This is so mainly because as length of residency increases, refugees are more likely to have a wider and more stable network to draw from for various forms of support (Boyd, 1989; Beiser, 1988). In addition, as settlement progresses other areas of adjustment, such as employment status and residential status, become more stable, thereby alleviating some stress.

Research has also revealed the positive role of networks in the amelioration or prevention of mental and physical health problems among refugees. Thus, while

there is little time and few resources to deal with trauma in refugee camps (Kemp, 1999), refugees may find greater success in facing mental health problems once settled in their new home, particularly if they have sufficient familial and/or friendship networks (Koser, 1997; Allodi & Rojas, 1988; Beiser, 1987; Beiser, Turner & Ganesan, 1991). Koser (1997) found that without general forms of support from familial and friendship networks, refugees express greater insecurity about their future, and experience dejection and depression far more frequently. Beiser (1988) adds, more specifically, that a strong marriage and ethnic community support has a positive impact on mental health adjustment.

The effects of disrupted familial networks can be detrimental to refugee health. Chan & Lam (1983) found that family networks and personal belongings destroyed by or lost during the refugee experience resulted in mental preoccupations with family reunification, and both painful and happy memories of the past. Although increased activity lessened the degree of preoccupation with the past during the days, nights were often consumed by unconscious reflections of one's refugee experience. In addition, Chan & Lam (1983: 10) found that, because they had lost more in terms of property and an overall way of life, older refugees compared to younger ones tended to spend more time during the day reflecting upon past events and lamenting over what was left behind.

Although family networks may create a sense of well-being, comfort and support, families can also be the focus of tension and sometimes are the centers of abuse and depression. As mentioned above, renegotiating gender roles within a new cultural environment may lead to excessive family problems, risking individual mental well-being. In addition, children and their parents may also be forced to renegotiate roles, possibly causing much internal strife and mental anguish. For example, in the process of adjustment, children may be required to translate the language and perhaps customs of the new environment to parents

who have limited or no English language ability. This may offer children greater control and power over mastering a new environment. Power relations within families are thus shifted and problems with authority may ensue. Further problems with control and authority, and subsequent tensions within the family, may arise when parents become proficient at English language use and thus cease to rely on children for their everyday needs (Ahearn & Athey, 1991).

*Summary of Research on Health Adjustment*

Refugees face numerous mental and physical health problems before migration and during the process of resettlement. Various resources, however, are available to refugees in times of threatening ill health. Qualities such as psychological preparedness and having a sense of spirituality can be interpreted as forms of human capital which buffer refugees against various physical and psychological problems stemming from stress. A strong kin and fictive kin network may help alleviate or prevent various psychological disorders, such as depression and bereavement. Moreover, research suggests that disrupted family networks often trigger or exacerbate health problems. A disrupted family network encourages preoccupations with one's past, particularly for older refugees. Family networks, however, may also cause health problems, especially when family members are forced to reformulate role expectations and responsibilities. Stress and mounting tensions resulting from changing gender and parenting roles can lead to serious health problems among family members, including depression and abuse.

**E. Conclusions**

One of the main objectives of this thesis is to understand refugees' resettlement experiences within a context of structural constraints and factors which facilitate resettlement. In line with this objective, this chapter has organized the literature examining resettlement within a framework of enabling and constraining

structures. Structural constraints are first evident at the level of defining who is and who is not a refugee. Refugee claimants are subject to the politicization of refugee determination in which humanitarian concerns and the socio-political interests of states interact to arrive at 'legitimate' definitions of the refugee. Once a refugee identity is claimed, an individual is further constrained by the conditions of that status. Individuals must draw upon a collective condition to claim refugee status. Consequently, their identities are often reduced to a common denominator, thereby submerging distinctive life histories, reasons for escape and personal goals and needs. In this context, refugees have been traditionally viewed as passive and dependent recipients of aid and adjustment. Few studies have acknowledged the proactive role that refugees play in their resettlement.

During the course of resettlement, refugees continue to function within a context of enabling and constraining forces. Upon arrival in their new home, many refugees, are unaware of existing resettlement services, largely due to a weak network structure. Female heads of household may be unable to access services because of a patriarchal family structure which isolates them in the home. While services assist in providing essential basic needs, a lack of awareness of different cultural orientations, language barriers, and skills assessment procedures are chronic problems affecting the quality of services rendered. Sponsorship is a specialized service and acts as a valuable network tie and network generator, particularly in the early stages of resettlement. However, the sponsorship relationship also involves various institutional and structural constraints which may place refugees in positions of passivity and dependence. Perhaps, as a result, sponsorship relationships often deteriorate after a certain period of time, while other network ties developed in the family and in the broader society continue to grow and strengthen.

Family and ethnic group community ties are particularly valuable for refugees in their resettlement. Family ties help refugees in finding employment, establishing living arrangements, providing financial assistance and household labour, and

aid in dealing with societal institutions, such as settlement service agencies, hospitals, training centres and so on. Co-ethnic community ties can offer refugees employment, and access to accommodations. Both family and co-ethnic friends also act as valuable forms of social and emotional support, providing refugees with a sense of belonging and identity.

However, like other sources of aid, these in-group ties can also act as constraints. The employment of females within a patriarchal family structure can create great tensions within families, thereby restricting employment opportunities for women. The ethnic enclave may exploit refugees and discourage upward mobility, particularly for female refugees who have few marketable skills. Furthermore, ethnic communities lacking a 'substantial stock of capital' may be unable to provide refugees with effective informational and economic support. In addition, ethnic communities may be plagued by internal tensions, preventing refugees from developing and accessing reliable and trustworthy social support networks. In the broader community, discrimination may act to isolate and alienate refugees, particularly those who are culturally dissimilar to the racial majority. However, research suggests that ethnic segregation may discourage the development of a shared sense of Canadian identity with the larger society.

Looking more closely at the specific areas of their resettlement, the literature reveals both enabling and constraining forces functioning in refugees' employment, educational, residential and health adjustment. A limited network structure, being female or older, residing in a community with few employment opportunities, and limited access to employment and training services reduce refugees' quality of employment and employment advancement. English language proficiency acts as a powerful resource in producing positive economic outcomes. Owning a home not only indicates economic success, but also an investment in social capital by re-building disrupted family networks, and by providing a stable and safe environment in which to re-establish a new identity.

Health adjustment also involves various constraining and enabling elements. In addition to a refugee's own psychological preparedness, research shows that close family and friends may help alleviate or prevent various psychological disorders. In contrast, disrupted family networks may trigger or intensify health problems. On the other hand, mounting tensions resulting from changing gender and parenting roles can lead to serious health problems in the family, including depression and abuse.

A review of this nature reveals a critical gap in the literature on refugee resettlement. That is, research has overlooked refugee agency in the resettlement process. In addition, it has neglected to integrate the structural elements affecting integration into a broad structural framework within which refugees are seen to negotiate their resettlement. As this thesis will empirically demonstrate, refugees can be viewed as active agents functioning within an evolving structural context which is constructed via the interplay between resources, social relations and larger societal forces.

# CHAPTER THREE
# RESEARCH METHODS

## A. Introduction

This chapter describes the methods used for this research and also presents a detailed profile of the refugees interviewed in this study. Part A reviews data collection methods, questionnaire construction, and the interview format and procedures. Part B examines a range of participant characteristics including sex, age, and region of origin, language characteristics (including mother tongue and home language use), year of arrival, place of destination, geographic mobility experiences and health status.

## B. Methodology

The adult refugee sample examined in this research is drawn from a larger study which was conducted on refugees destined to Alberta between 1992 and 1998 (Abu-Laban, Derwing, Krahn, Mulder, & Wilkinson, 2000). This larger study involved a multi-phase examination of the settlement experiences of 525 refugee adults and 91 youth. A particular focus of this study was on refugees' mobility experiences, specifically their movements within Canada and their reasons for leaving destined locations. The study also included interviews with service providers, asking them about their perceptions of refugee resettlement, and a public opinion survey measuring public sentiments and reactions of Albertans to refugees settling in their communities.

Records from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) show that 9, 198 refugees were destined to Alberta between 1992 and 1997. For the purposes of the study, CIC provided contact information for 5, 208 of these refugees. The sample contained refugees who were both government-sponsored and privately-sponsored. Dependants and refugee claimants were omitted from the sample. A

systematic sampling strategy (every $n^{th}$ name or family unit) was employed to arrive at a target sample of 956 individuals. Out of this target sample, only 47 (5%) individuals could not be located. Because the remaining 909 individuals were living in communities across Canada, it was not feasible to interview all of them. In total, 616 refugees, destined mostly to Alberta, were interviewed (525 adults and 91 youth). Seventy-four interviews were conducted with refugees who, destined to Alberta originally, were now living outside of the province. Out-of-province interviews took place in British Columbia (29), Saskatchewan (1), Ontario (41), Quebec (1), and Nova Scotia (2). The remaining interviews (451) were conducted in cities across Alberta, including Edmonton, Calgary, Lethbridge, Red Deer, Medicine Hat, Grand Prairie, and Fort McMurray.

Two questionnaires, one for youth (aged 15 to 21 years) and one for adult refugees, were developed. The majority of questions for both questionnaires were created by members of the research team. Based on prior research reviewing immigrant and refugee resettlement issues, the research team identified specific themes and formulated key research questions for the survey instruments. Other questions dealing with socio-demographic, health and attitudes towards multiculturalism were chosen from a variety of sources, including questions from the Canadian Census and other Statistics Canada national surveys, and Canadian and Alberta public opinion surveys. A University of Alberta Research Ethics Committee approved both questionnaires before data collection commenced. Questionnaires were then pre-tested and fine-tuned.

The survey of refugees employed a structured interviewing format which included a large number of fixed-response questions and a smaller number of open-ended questions designed to represent the range of individual opinions and experiences. Interviews were conducted between July and October 1998. Thirteen interviewers, chosen for their understanding of refugee issues and multi-lingual and interview skills, conducted the interviews. Measures were

taken to ensure that the translation of interviews was standardized across languages. Specifically, interviewers participated in a full-day training exercise. Furthermore, a full-time interviewing trainer served as a supervisor throughout the data collection phase.

Face-to-face interviews were completed for the vast majority of refugees living in Alberta. Over two-thirds (70%) of out-of-province interviews were conducted by telephone. Interviews were completed in a range of languages representing the various linguistic groups including English, Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, Russian, Arabic, Urdu, Spanish, Polish, Somali, Vietnamese, Pashto, Amharic, and Farsi. Translated versions of the adult questionnaire were created for Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, and Serbo-Croatian respondents. In addition, response categories (e.g., agree-disagree) were translated into nine languages and were used as answer sheets for respondents during the interviews. Approximately one-third of all interviews were conducted in English.

The majority of interviews were conducted in respondents' homes. When it was possible, other household members were not present when a respondent was being interviewed. This measure encouraged respondents to express their own personal views which were not influenced by family members. On average, interview duration was approximately 80 minutes in length. Interviewees were given $20.00 to compensate for their time and expenses.

Informed consent involved explaining to refugees the nature of the research project. Respondents were assured that their responses would remain confidential and would be used only for research purposes. In addition, respondents were assured that their personal identities would remain anonymous. To further alleviate any concerns regarding their involvement, respondents were told they could decline to answer any question, or they could withdraw their consent to participate at any time during the interview. Although a few refugees expressed concern about participating in the study, the majority

were enthusiastic about expressing their opinions regarding their resettlement experiences.

The dissertation focuses exclusively on the resettlement experiences of adult refugees from the larger study. While potentially employable, the youth interviewed for the larger study are not considered in the current research as many were in school full-time at the time of being interviewed (Wilkinson, 2000).

## C. Participant Characteristics

### Sex and Age Distributions

As shown in Table 3-1, slightly more females (51%; n=265) than males (49%; n=260) are represented in the total adult sample. As discussed in Chapter Two, this distribution is similar to the national average for refugees.

A large proportion of the adult refugee sample falls between the ages of 31 and 40 (44%). Age breakdowns within this sample are also representative of national averages and, as discussed in Chapter Two, reflect the Canadian government's commitment toward ensuring that refugees are economically-productive members of the Canadian economy.

Both within the adult sample and at a national level, the lowest proportion of refugees fall under the 45 - 64 age group and the 65 years and older category. Eight percent of the refugee sample is 51 years and older, with only 2% of the total sample over 65 years (Table 3-1). The emphasis on admitting younger age groups has implications for a refugee's familial network structure, in that the current sample of refugee family units is more likely to consist of younger family members as opposed to 'old' elderly members.

**Region of Origin**

In the current study, six regions of origin are represented in the adult refugee sample including Africa, Central/South America, East Asia, the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East and Poland[6]. A significant proportion of the sample is from former Yugoslavia (61%), even though Yugoslavian refugees made up slightly less than half of the Citizenship and Immigration database from which the sample was drawn. This over-sampling is mainly a result of the more recent arrival in Alberta of refugees from former Yugoslavia. As a result, they were somewhat less likely than other members of the 1992-97 refugee cohort to have moved out of Alberta. In turn, they were somewhat easier to contact and, ultimately, more likely to be interviewed (Abu-Laban et al., 1999). Refugees represented from the Middle East constitute 17% of the total sample, followed by refugees from Central-South America (9%), Africa (6%), East Asia (3%) and Poland (2%).

In addition to Poland (n=9), the refugees in the sample have arrived in Canada from a range of source countries (Table 3.1). The majority of African refugees are from Somalia (41% of the African sample). Refugees within the Central/South American category came mainly from El Salvador (67% of the Central/South American sample). Most East Asian refugees were from Vietnam (88% of the East Asian sample). Refugees from the Middle East were mainly from Iraq (59% of the Middle Eastern sample) and Afghanistan (36% of the Middle Eastern Sample). One-half (50%) of the former Yugoslavian sample (n=329) reported their country of origin as Yugoslavia, 44% reported Bosnia-Hercogovina, and the remaining identified Croatia, Serbia or Slovenia as their country of origin.[7]

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[6] The former Yugoslavia is considered a separate region due to the large number of respondents from this former country. Despite the small number of respondents represented in the adult sample (n=9), Poland is also classified as a separate region since it cannot be logically grouped with the other regional categories.

[7] In addition to region of origin, refugees were asked to identify their ethnic origin. However, since responses for region of origin and ethnic origin significantly overlapped, ethnic origin responses are not discussed.

## Language Characteristics

### *Mother Tongue*

Table 3-2 shows the variety of mother tongues identified within each region, with the exception of refugees from Poland who all declared Polish as their mother tongue and Central-South American respondents who all reported Spanish as the mother tongue. Among the African refugees, thirty-eight percent declared Somali as their mother tongue. A large proportion of Middle Eastern refugees reported Arabic (42%) as their mother tongue. Almost two-thirds of refugees from the former Yugoslavia reported Serbo-Croatian (63%). Fifty percent of East Asian respondents reported Vietnamese as their mother tongue.

### *Home Language*

Similar to mother tongue, Table 3-2 reveals that several home languages are identified within the African, former Yugoslavian, Middle Eastern, and East Asian groups. The most evident discrepancy between home language and mother tongue is the presence of English within the home. English language home-use is one potentially significant indicator of mainstream integration, usually found to be linked with higher educational attainment and occupational success. However, only 5% of the total sample speak English in their homes. The greatest proportion of respondents using English in their homes is among the African group, with 18% of the population reporting English home use.

Aside from English usage, only slight discrepancies exist between mother tongue and home language reports. This is the case particularly among refugees from Poland; all nine report speaking Polish in their home. Similarly, the majority of Central-South American refugees report speaking Spanish in their homes.

**Year of Arrival**

The larger study from which this sample was derived collected data from refugees destined to Alberta between 1992 and 1998. Table 3-3 shows that the majority of refugees arrived between 1994 and 1996, constituting 67% of the total adult sample. Central/South Americans (82%), Polish (100%) and East Asian (75%) refugees had been in Canada for the longest period, the majority from each group arriving between 1992 and 1993 (results not shown in table).

The majority of African (82%) adult refugees were relatively recent arrivals, arriving in Canada between 1996 and 1997. Middle Eastern adult refugees were also recent arrivals, the majority having arrived between 1995 and 1997 (71%). Former Yugoslavian refugees started to arrive in relatively large numbers in 1994, with over two-thirds (68%) arriving between 1994 and 1997.

**Place of Destination and Geographic Mobility in Canada**

Similar to the national averages discussed in Chapter Two, Table 3-3 shows that almost half of the current sample of adult refugees were destined to the two major metropolitan centers in Alberta, Calgary (26%) and Edmonton (22%), followed by mid-sized centers including Lethbridge (19%), Red Deer (13%), and Medicine Hat (13%). A small proportion of refugees was destined to the smaller centers of Grand Prairie (5%) and Fort McMurray (3%).

In terms of region of origin, all adult refugees from Poland were destined to Edmonton or Calgary. Similarly, compared to refugees from other regions, a greater proportion of Middle Eastern refugees was destined to larger centers, with almost 60% being destined to Calgary. Compared to refugees from other regions, Central/South American refugees were represented more greatly in smaller centers, with the majority of the adult sample being destined to Lethbridge (35%), Red Deer (27%), and Medicine Hat (20%). Former

Yugoslavians were distributed across the larger and smaller centers, with slightly greater proportions being destined to Edmonton (23 %), Calgary (22%) and Lethbridge (20 %). Similarly, a slightly greater proportion of adult African refugees was destined to Edmonton (27%) and Calgary (24%) compared to the smaller centers across Alberta. Adult refugees from East Asia were destined to both large and small urban centers, one-half destined to Calgary (25%) and Red Deer (25%).

In total, three-quarters (75%) of the sample stayed in the city to which they were destined. At the time of being interviewed, approximately 8% of refugees had been living in their current city of residence for less than 12 months. Just under one-half (49%) had been living in their current city of residence between 12 and 36 months (1 and 3 years), one-third between 36 and 60 months (3 - 5 years), and only a small proportion (8%) had been living in their current city of residence for over 5 years. Under one-half of the sample (44%) reported that they were planning to move from their current city of residence.

**Health Status Six Months After Arrival**

Because of the possible trauma experienced in their home of origin, refugees' health status may play a critical role in various areas of resettlement. To measure physical and psychological health upon arrival in Canada, respondents were asked the following questions: 1) "When you first came to Canada, how healthy did you feel physically?" and 2) "When you first came to Canada, how healthy did you feel psychologically?". Refugees were asked to assess their physical and psychological health on a four-point scale ('very healthy', 'somewhat healthy', 'unhealthy', very unhealthy').

*Physical Health*

Table 3-4 shows that two-thirds (66%) of the total sample reported feeling 'very healthy' upon arrival. A much lower proportion reported being 'unhealthy'/'very unhealthy' (6%) upon arrival. Significantly fewer females (60%) than males (71%) reported being 'very healthy' physically upon arrival.

Younger refugees were healthier than older ones upon arrival. The youngest age group (71%) represented the greatest proportion of respondents who reported being 'very healthy' physically. In contrast, only 40% of the oldest age cohort claimed they were physically 'very healthy' upon arrival. Moreover, a relatively larger proportion of the oldest age groups (9%, 41-50; 9%, 51 years and older) compared to younger refugees reported being 'unhealthy'/'very unhealthy' physically upon arrival.

Regional variations indicate that, in comparison to other groups, Central/South American refugees were more likely to state that they were 'unhealthy'/'very unhealthy' physically upon arrival in Canada (10%). The healthiest ('very healthy') refugees physically were among the African (85%) and Polish (90%) populations. It is interesting to note that almost all of the single refugees in the African category reported being 'very healthy' psychologically and physically upon arrival.

*Psychological Health*

In general, Table 3-4 reveals that refugees' psychological health was poorer than their physical health upon arrival in Canada. For example, 57% of respondents reported being 'very healthy' psychologically, as opposed to 66% reporting being 'very healthy' physically. Similarly, compared to physical health reports, a larger percentage of refugees reported being 'very unhealthy' psychologically upon arrival (6% versus 10%, respectively).

Age variations show that, compared to younger age groups, a greater proportion (19%) of refugees 51 years and older reported being 'unhealthy/very unhealthy' psychologically. Similarly, while 61% of the population between 22 and 50 years reported being 'very healthy' psychologically, a significantly lower proportion did so who were 51 years and older (42%).

The regional group with the highest proportion being 'very healthy' psychologically upon arrival is the East Asian group (81%). Given this, it is interesting that only 56% of East Asian refugees reported being 'very healthy' *physically* upon arrival. There were no refugees among the African, East Asian and Polish groups reporting being 'unhealthy/very unhealthy'. Central/South American refugees appeared to be in the poorest psychological health, with the lowest proportion reporting being 'very healthy' and the highest being 'unhealthy/very unhealthy' (20%).

*Stress and Psychological Health*

The survey instrument offered two additional questions which could be interpreted as measures of psychological health. Specifically, respondents were asked the following: 1) "In the first year, how happy or sad did you feel?" and 2) "When you first came to Canada, how stressful was your life?". Refugees were asked to gauge their degree of happiness and sadness upon arrival on a four-point scale (i.e., 'very happy', 'somewhat happy', 'both sad and happy', 'somewhat sad', 'very sad'). Similarly, refugees assessed their degree of stress on a four-point scale (i.e., 'not at all stressful', 'not very stressful', 'somewhat stressful', 'very stressful').

The more stressful refugees felt when they first arrived in Canada, the lower their reported levels of happiness ($r = -.33^{**}$) and the poorer their psychological health ($r = -.29^{**}$). A similar negative relationship between stress and happiness ($r = -.34^{**}$), and stress and psychological health ($-.30^{**}$), was apparent in the

past month (at the time of the interview). However, these findings do not necessarily suggest that refugees suffer from severe mental health problems. A reasonable combination of 'happiness', 'sadness' and stress may reflect positive psychological health as refugees attempt to negotiate their way emotionally through the trauma they may have suffered prior to and after migration. It is likely that, due to the nature of the situation (i.e., the refugee experience), a degree of emotional instability and accompanying stress is to be expected.

It should also be noted that a refugee's psychological profile is more than a measure of happiness and sadness and current stress levels. The process of dealing with a variety of serious psychological conditions, such as trauma, cultural bereavement and grief due to separation from loved ones, is one which continues to affect refugees well into the resettlement process. However, depending on their degree of psychological preparedness, many refugees in this sample may have the capacity to cope with and overcome these psychological barriers.

**Summary of Participant Characteristics**

Males and females were equally represented in this sample of refugee adults. A large proportion of refugees were between 22 and 40 years, the most economically productive ages. Refugees in the sample came from a range of sources regions including Poland, Africa, Central/South America, the Middle East and the former Yugoslavia. The largest proportion of refugees in the sample were from the former Yugoslavia. A variety of mother tongues were identified within each region. There is little difference between mother tongue and home language use, except for the minority of refugees (5%) who reported speaking English in their homes. Compared to other regions, a relatively large proportion of African refugees (18%) used English in their home.

Two-thirds of this refugee sample arrived between 1994 and 1996. Almost one-half of the total sample were destined to Edmonton and Calgary, while the remaining were living in smaller centres across Alberta. Most refugees stayed in the city to which they were destined. Almost one-half of the sample had been living in their current city of residence between 1 and 3 years, while another one-third have lived up to five years in their current city of residence. Under one-half reported that they might leave their current city of residence.

Six months after arriving in Canada, the majority of the refugees in the sample declared themselves as being in good health, with over two-thirds (66%) and over one-half (57%) reporting that they were 'very healthy' physically and psychologically, respectively. Stress was associated with lower levels of happiness and poor psychological health.

## Table 3-1: Adult Refugees' Sex, Age and Regional Distributions

| | Total % | Total N |
|---|---|---|
| **Total Refugee Population** | 100% | 525 |
| **Sex** | | |
| Female | 51% | 265 |
| Male | 49% | 260 |
| **Age** | | |
| 22-30 years | 28% | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 44% | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 19% | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 8% | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | |
| Africa | 6% | 34 |
| Central/South America | 9% | 49 |
| East Asia | 3% | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 63% | 329 |
| Middle East | 17% | 88 |
| Poland | 2% | 9 |

## TABLE 3-2: REFUGEES' MOTHER TONGUE AND HOME LANGUAGE BY REGION OF ORIGIN

% of Refugees by Mother Tongue and Home Language

| | MOTHER TONGUE | HOME LANGUAGE* | (n) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **REGION OF ORIGIN** | | | |
| **Africa** | | | 34 |
| English | 0 | 0 | |
| Somali/Amharic | 56 | 53 | |
| French/Tigrigna/Swahili | 18 | 15 | |
| Other Languages | 26 | 15 | |
| **Central/South America** | | | 49 |
| English | 0 | 0 | |
| Spanish | 100 | 92 | |
| **East Asia** | | | 16 |
| English | 0 | 6 | |
| Vietnamese | 50 | 50 | |
| Cantonese | 38 | 38 | |
| Other Languages | 13 | 6 | |
| **Former Yugoslavia** | | | 329 |
| English | 0 | 2 | |
| Serbo-Croatian | 63 | 62 | |
| Bosnian | 12 | 12 | |
| Serbian | 11 | 12 | |
| Croatian | 6 | 7 | |
| Other Languages | 8 | 4 | |
| **Middle East** | | | 88 |
| English | 0 | 0 | |
| Arabic | 42 | 35 | |
| Persian/Pashei | 27 | 27 | |
| Other Languages | 31 | 27 | |
| **Poland** | | | 9 |
| English | 0 | 0 | |
| Polish | 100 | 100 | |
| Total n Reporting English | 0 | 26 | |
| Total % Reporting English | 0% | 5.0% | |

## Table 3-3: Year of Arrival in Canada, Place of Destination and Geographic Mobility in Canada

| | Total % | Total N |
|---|---|---|
| **Total Refugee Population** | 100% | 525 |
| **Year of Arrival** | | |
| 1992-1993 | 18% | 97 |
| 1994-1996 | 67% | 353 |
| 1997-1998 | 14% | 75 |
| **Place of Destination** | | |
| Edmonton | 22% | 116 |
| Calgary | 26% | 137 |
| Other Alberta Cities | 43% | 226 |
| Canadian Cities outside Alberta | 9% | 48 |
| **Moved in Canada** | | |
| Yes | 25% | 131 |
| No | 75% | 394 |
| **Length of Time in Current City of Residence** | | |
| Less than 12 months | 8% | 42 |
| Between 12 and 36 months | 49% | 257 |
| Between 36 and 60 months (5 years) | 35% | 184 |
| Over 5 years | 8% | 42 |

## TABLE 3-4
## SELF-REPORTED PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL HEALTH STATUS UPON ARRIVAL IN CANADA

| | Physical Health | | | | Psychological Health | | | | Total N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Very Healthy | Somewhat Healthy | Unhealthy/ Very Unhealthy | Total % | Very Healthy | Somewhat Healthy | Unhealthy/ Very Unhealthy | Total % | |
| **Total Refugee Population** | 65% | 29% | 6% | 100% | 57% | 33% | 10% | 100% | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 60% | 33% | 8% | 100% | 53% | 37% | 11% | 100% | 265 |
| Male | 71% | 26% | 4% | 100% | 62% | 29% | 10% | 100% | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 71% | 26% | 3% | 100% | 61% | 32% | 6% | 100% | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 66% | 29% | 5% | 100% | 58% | 34% | 9% | 100% | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 66% | 25% | 9% | 100% | 57% | 28% | 15% | 100% | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 40% | 51% | 9% | 100% | 42% | 40% | 19% | 100% | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 85% | 9% | 6% | 100% | 77% | 24% | 0% | 100% | 34 |
| Central/South America | 61% | 29% | 10% | 100% | 39% | 41% | 20% | 100% | 49 |
| East Asia | 56% | 38% | 6% | 100% | 81% | 19% | 0% | 100% | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 64% | 31% | 5% | 100% | 57% | 35% | 8% | 100% | 329 |
| Middle East | 63% | 32% | 6% | 100% | 56% | 24% | 19% | 100% | 88 |
| Poland | 89% | 11% | 0% | 100% | 67% | 33% | 0% | 100% | 9 |
| **Total n Health Status** | 342 | 153 | 30 | | 300 | 171 | 53 | | 525 |

# CHAPTER FOUR
# A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF NETWORK TIES AND HUMAN CAPITAL

## A. Introduction

Before examining the interrelated impacts of forms of capital on resettlement outcomes, a detailed analysis of refugees' stock of social and human capital developed prior to arrival in Canada and in the first year of resettlement would be useful. Part A of this chapter focuses on potential forms of social capital, examining refugees' familial and extra-familial network structures in terms of size, content and range. Part B continues the examination of social networks, offering an analysis of tie strength, including relative importance of ties, tie duration, and time investment. Part C provides a description of refugees' stock of human capital developed prior to their arrival in Canada. Finally, Part D contains a summary and some important conclusions about refugees' familial and extra-familial network structures in Canada.

## B. Descriptive Analysis of Adult Refugees' Network Structure

### Network Size and Content of Familial Ties

The survey instrument allows an examination of an adult refugee's familial network structure on a number of dimensions. An analysis of marital status, number of individuals in refugees' households, and family members present in a refugee's network structure, both prior to arrival in Canada and maintained after arrival, measures content, size and range of refugees' familial network. Potential range of family network size and content is also examined by asking respondents which family members they plan to bring to Canada.

*Current Marital Status*

Table 4-1 presents the marital status of refugees upon arrival in Canada, broken down by gender, age and region of origin. Seventy-three percent of respondents are married, and 70% are living with their spouse. The remaining respondents are single (17%), separated/divorced (4%), widowed (3%), or in a common-law relationship (3%).

An equal percentage of females and males are married. However, males are somewhat more likely than females to be single (20% versus 14%, respectively). Age distributions reveal that a large proportion of refugees between 22 and 30 years are single (49%). In addition, a greater proportion of refugees who are 51 years and older compared to other age groups lost their partner (n=6; 14%); all who are widowed are female. Compared to other regions, African refugees are more likely to be single (47%), while a greater proportion of Polish (89%) and former Yugoslavian (80%) refugees are married.

*Number of Adults and Children in Household*

The number of adults and children in a household offers one measure of familial network size and indirectly measures familial tie strength. As a measure of tie strength, the number of adults and children within a household implies frequency of contact with and proximity to family members, as well as measuring the number of available individuals upon whom a refugee may depend emotionally, socially, and/or economically.

On average, refugees live in a household containing 4.1 members (including themselves). Tables 4-2a and 4-2b break down the number of adults and children living in a refugee's household. Eighty-three percent of all refugees in the sample are living in a household containing 2-4 adults between 22 and 64 years of age. Africans represent the lowest proportion of refugees living with 2 - 4

adults (47%), with a significantly higher proportion of refugees from this region (47%) reporting only one adult (likely themselves) in their household. Thus, close to one-half of all African refugees are single and probably living alone without children.[8]

In general, Table 4-2b shows that about one-third (29%) of the sample have children under the age of 5 living in their households. A larger proportion of the total sample (45%) have children between 6 and 14 years living in their household, while about one-quarter (26%) live with youth between 15 and 21 years. The average number of young children (between 0 and 14 years) in the household is 1.5. Overall, Table 4-2b shows that males, compared to females, have fewer children from all age groups living with them.

Table 4-2b also shows that refugees between 31 and 40 years are the most likely to have children under age five in the household (43%). Compared to the youngest and oldest age groups, middle-aged refugees between 31 and 50 years have, on average, more children between 0 and 14 years living with them, with an average of 2 children per household.

African refugees represent the highest proportion of refugees *without* children living in the household. As noted above, a significant proportion of African refugees are single and likely living on their own. This relative lack of ties may offer these refugees the freedom to explore a range of employment opportunities and advance in other areas of their resettlement.

In contrast, Middle Eastern refugees have the highest average number (almost 3) of children between 0 and 14 years living in their household. Middle Eastern refugees also have more adults living in one household, with an average of 3

[8] This finding is supported by 1995 Canadian immigration statistics. Analyzing 1995 Canadian Census data, Thomas shows that young African men "have the greatest likelihood of living alone" (Thomas, 2001: 22).

adults per household. Findings from this regional group suggest the presence of extended family members or multi-nuclear families living in one household. This may have implications for how refugees pool their financial and other resources in the process of resettlement.

*Actual and Potential Size, Content and Range of Refugees' Familial Network*

In addition to marital status and a number of individuals in a household, several additional indicators measuring family networks are considered in this analysis. Table 4-3 presents an overview of the size, content and range of refugees' familial network developed prior to and maintained after arrival in Canada. Refugees were asked five questions which probed into the various dimensions of their familial network structure:

- "Did any members of your family already live in Canada when you arrived? Which family members were already in Canada?"
- "Did other members of your family come to Canada with you? Which family members came with you?"
- "Did you leave any members of your immediate family (wife/husband, parents, brothers/sisters, children) behind in your home country (or a refugee camp)? Which family members did you leave behind?"
- "Are you planning to bring any family members to Canada? Who would you like to bring to Canada?"
- "Not counting the people who live in this household, do you have other family members living in (name of current city/town) now? Who are these family members?"

Almost one-quarter (22%) of all refugees had family in Canada before their arrival (Table 4-3). A vast majority (86%) reported coming with other family members when they arrived in Canada. However, an equally large proportion

(90%) stated that they left family members behind in their former home or in a refugee camp. Representing the potential to increase their family network, almost one-half (45%) of refugees reported that they plan to sponsor family members left behind. Almost one-third (29%) of all respondents indicated that they have family (outside their household) living in their current city of residence. Finally, to show the range of refugees' family ties, contact with relatives in the former home is also considered. Almost all (96%) reported that they maintain contact with relatives in their former home.

Females were more likely than males to arrive in Canada with family. Refugees in the oldest age group (37%) were most likely to have family in Canada before arriving themselves. Compared to younger age groups, a greater proportion of refugees 51 years and older had also left family members behind (98%). Compared to other age groups, younger refugees were more likely to plan to sponsor other family members (53%). The oldest refugees (51%) were more likely to report having family in their current city of residence.

In terms of regional differences, Table 4-3 shows that Middle Eastern refugees (50%) were most likely to report that they have family members (outside their household) living in their current city of residence. Furthermore, former Yugoslavians were the least likely to have family in Canada before arrival (18%), but were one of the most likely to arrive with other family members (91%) and the least likely to plan sponsoring family members (37%). African refugees reveal a less dense family network, with proportionately fewer reporting family arriving with them (50%), and proportionately more leaving family behind (97%) and planning to sponsor other family members (91%).

*i. Family Members Already Living in Canada Before Refugee's Arrival*

Upon arrival, most refugees did not integrate into a pre-existing kin network. As was demonstrated in Table 4-3, just under one-quarter (22%) had family in

Canada before their arrival. Table 4-4 shows that before their arrival, refugees had more extended family than nuclear family members (i.e., spouse and children) already residing in Canada. In terms of extended family, refugees tended to have close family within Canada, such as one or two siblings or perhaps aunts or uncles, as compared to an extensive kin network.

While gender differences were minor, significant age patterns were evident. Table 4-4 reveals, that compared to other age groups, a greater proportion of refugees who are 51 years and older (18%) had children in Canada before arrival. It is likely that the children of these older refugees are adults who arrived independently planning to sponsor their parents.

*ii. Family Members Arriving with Refugee*

As Table 4-3 showed, most refugees did not migrate to Canada alone; 89% came with other family members, the majority being spouses and children. Table 4-5 demonstrates that two-thirds (66%) of the total sample arrived with a spouse, and just under two-thirds (61%) reported bringing children with them to Canada. A relatively smaller proportion of refugees arrived in Canada with a range of extended family members. Thus, the size of the extended family network with which refugees' arrived was small in comparison to immediate family. Additionally, in terms of range, closer family members, such as parents and siblings, compared to more distant blood relatives, were more likely to have accompanied sample members when they came to Canada.

A greater proportion of females (67%) compared to males (57%) reported bringing children with them to Canada (Table 4-5). This difference can be explained by the fact that there are more single males (20%) than females (14%) in the sample (see Table 4-1). As is shown in more detail below, females are also more likely than males to be living within a familial network structure, particularly an immediate family.

Significant age variations also exist. In particular, Table 4-5 reveals that the youngest refugees (22-30 years) are less likely to have come to Canada with a spouse and children. This is not surprising since one-half (49%) of this age group is single (Table 4-1). This age group, instead, was more likely than other age groups to come with siblings.

A prominent difference is apparent when examining variations by region of origin. Table 4-5 shows that former Yugoslavian refugees were most likely to arrive in Canada with their spouse (79%). It is possible that intense media coverage of the plight of refugees from this region, public pressure, and global political considerations may have played major roles in the greater admission rates of intact families among the former Yugoslavians, compared to other groups.

*iii. Family Members Left Behind in Home Country or a Refugee Camp*

As was shown in Table 4-3, the majority of refugees (90%) left some close family members behind in their home country or in a refugee camp. Table 4-5 revealed that females were more likely than males to arrive with children. Furthermore, Table 4-6 demonstrates that a greater proportion of males than females left behind parents (males, 72% versus females, 62%) and siblings (males, 73% versus females, 64%). This pattern may reflect the fact that males are typically principal applicants who are in the process of sponsoring their kin. This conclusion is supported by national statistics which indicate that refugee males are generally more likely to be principal applicants, constituting 72% of this category (Statistics Canada, 1996). In contrast, a majority of females are admitted as dependants (60%).

Compared to other age groups, a greater proportion of the oldest refugees reported leaving a spouse behind (18%, compared to 4% or less in other age categories). It is not immediately apparent why this is the case. Furthermore,

while about one-fifth of these older refugees had children already living in Canada prior to their arrival (see Table 4-4), Table 4-6 reveals that a relatively large proportion also declared leaving children behind (38%). A combination of two reasons may explain this age difference. First, refugees in the older age group are more likely than the youngest age group to have children. Moreover, refugees who are 51 years and older are more likely than other age groups to have *adult* children who are seeking refugee status independently from their parents.

Table 4-6 reveals that former Yugoslavians were among the least likely to have left behind immediate family members (spouse, 1%; children, 4%), while East Asian refugees were the most likely to leave a spouse (31%) and children (38%) behind. These findings once again suggest that former Yugoslavians were more likely to arrive as intact nuclear families. In terms of extended family, however, the greatest proportion of refugees who declared leaving parents and siblings were also former Yugoslavians (parents, 70%; 1-2 siblings, 57%).

*iv. Potential Family Network Size and Content: Plans to Bring Other Family*

As we saw in Table 4-3, just under one-half (45%) of all refugees plan to bring other family members to Canada, usually extended family members. This is likely the case because, on average, more refugees left behind extended compared to immediate family members. As for gender differences, Table 4-7 demonstrates that a greater proportion of males plan to sponsor their spouse/partner/fiance (males, 7% versus females, 0.4%). Again, this finding reflects the fact that more males are single (Table 4-1) and that males are more likely to be instrumental in sponsoring relatives.

When examining intentions to re-establish extended familial networks, it is also important to note that refugees, on average, favor re-establishing network ties with closer family members, such as parents and siblings, compared to more

distant relatives, such as nieces/nephews, cousins, grandparents/children, and so on (see Table 4-7). There are two possible reasons for this preference. First, tie intensity and therefore, the emotional interdependence and practical utility of family ties, is likely stronger with closely-related blood ties compared to distant family. In addition, while refugees may aspire to reunite with distant relatives, they may be constrained by Canadian admission policies which generally give preference to reuniting nuclear family members (spouse and dependent children).

Table 4-7 reveals that males are slightly more likely to aspire to sponsor close family -- parents and siblings, in particular. This is consistent with the earlier finding that males were somewhat less likely to have migrated with parents and siblings (see Table 4-5) and more likely to have left their parents and siblings behind (see Table 4-6). As noted above, males are usually principal applicants, and thus may have a greater responsibility than females for sponsoring relatives.

Substantial age differences are evident in Table 4-7. Compared to other age groups, a greater proportion of refugees between 22 and 30 years (8%) plan to sponsor a spouse/ partner/fiance. Since a lower proportion of refugees in this age group left behind a spouse (2%), it is likely that more refugees between 22 and 30 years plan to sponsor an individual who they plan to marry. Refugees who are 51 years or older are more likely to plan to sponsor their children (18%). It is likely that the oldest refugees have independent adult children who may be seeking aid from their parents in Canada to escape their homeland.

Some interesting regional differences are also evident. Although this sample of East Asian refugees had been in Canada since before 1995, one-third (31%) remain separated from their children and want to sponsor them. In addition, African refugees are most likely to plan to sponsor relatives, with 73% aspiring to sponsor siblings. In contrast, former Yugoslavians are least likely to plan to bring other family members to Canada. As we saw in Table 4-5, former

Yugoslavian refugees have had to deal less with being separated from their families. It is possible that, within the context of global considerations and public/media pressure, biases in Canadian admission standards favored former Yugoslavian refugees.

*v. Other Family Members in Refugee's Current City of Residence not Living in Refugee's Household*

A refugee's familial network may also extend beyond one's household. As Table 4-3 showed, just over one-quarter (29%) of the sample have other family members living in their current city of residence. In particular, Table 4-8 shows that refugees are more likely to report having brothers and sisters (16%) living in their city of residence compared to other family members.

Refugees in the oldest age cohort (51 years and older) are most likely to have kin residing in their current city of residence. Table 4-8 shows that these are typically children (35%). This finding is supported by the fact that older refugees were more likely than other age groups to have their adult children in Canada before they arrived (see Table 4-4). In terms of regional variations, Middle Eastern refugees are more likely to have other family living in their current city of residence. Specifically, Table 4-8 reveals that many Middle Eastern refugees reported the presence of brothers and/or sisters (1 sibling, 15%; 2 or more siblings, 18%).

**Summary**

When they first arrived in Canada, many refugees did not integrate into a pre-existing kin network within their city or, more broadly, within Canada. Close family members, such as siblings and aunts/uncles, were more likely than other family members to already be present in Canada. Most refugees left behind family members in their home country or in a refugee camp. In addition, almost

all maintained contact with and planned to sponsor relatives living in the former home. The vast majority of refugees arrived with some family members, a substantial proportion coming with a spouse and one or two children. Upon arrival, the majority (73%) were married and living in a household with 2-4 members (including the respondent). Slightly over one-quarter had a family network existing within their current city of residence. In particular, parents, siblings, adult children, in-laws and aunts/uncles comprised the family network directly surrounding a refugee's household family structure.

*Gender Differences in Familial Network Structure*

In general, refugee women are more likely than men to be living within a familial network structure, particularly an immediate family structure. An approximately even distribution of males and females are married. However, males are somewhat more likely to be single than females. Females were also more likely than males to have had family members accompany them upon arrival in Canada (children, in particular), and to have left fewer members behind in their country of origin.

That women are more likely than men to be embedded within a familial structure, more specifically, within their own home, may have implications for gender differences in resettlement outcomes. While being surrounded by a family network may buffer females from various stresses in the process of resettlement, being embedded within a family network associated with gender-specific roles and responsibilities may also constrain females from advancing in various areas of their resettlement, including education and employment pursuits.

*Age Differences in Familial Network Structure*

Older refugees were more likely to join other family members already in Canada. A sizeable proportion (18%) of refugees in this age group had adult children in Canada before arrival, and 35% reported children living in their current city of residence. The presence of adult children in Canada prior to their arrival may have allowed refugees in this older age category easier access to Canada, and may have enabled them to integrate into more stable living arrangements with greater access to financial or other benefits upon arrival. In contrast to other age groups, however, the oldest refugees were also more likely to have left their adult children behind. Furthermore, a larger proportion of this age group (compared to younger cohorts) planned to sponsor their adult children. In general, these findings show the *interdependency* and *agency* of family members in the process of migration as parents and children use their *capital power* to aid each other in escaping their homeland and resettling in Canada.

*Regional Differences in Familial Network Structure*

Former Yugoslavian refugees were the least likely to have had a family network in Canada before their arrival. Compared to other groups, former Yugoslavian and East Asian refugees were more likely to leave behind other close family, parents and siblings in particular. However, plans to sponsor these family members were relatively uncommon in these two groups, compared to refugees from other regions.

Former Yugoslavians were, however, more likely than other groups to migrate along with other immediate family members. In contrast, East Asian refugees were more likely to remain separated from their spouses and/or children, despite being in Canada for a longer period. A combination of media representations, the views of the Canadian public, and larger socio-political forces determining

refugee status may be responsible for the differences in familial migration patterns, in this case, largely favoring the former Yugoslavians.

A significantly greater proportion of African refugees were single. In general, African refugees reported the least extensive family network. Specifically, they had the lowest proportion of family members coming with them to Canada, one of the highest proportions leaving family members behind, and the highest proportion aspiring to bring other family to Canada.

### C. Tie Strength of Familial and Extra-Familial Networks

An important dimension of refugees' familial and extra-familial structure is the relative strength of ties. In the following section, tie strength is measured by considering the relative importance that refugees assign to familial and extra-familial ties in their explanations of where they seek support for emotional/personal matters, employment and health concerns, and money matters.

#### Emotional Support Networks

The survey questionnaire asked respondents a number of open-ended questions which can be used to examine the familial and extra-familial content of a refugee's support network and the relative importance of kin and extra-familial ties. One set of questions measured refugees' emotional connection and dependence upon those in their kin network, particularly during periods of 'sadness'. Refugees were asked to identify who they would talk to if they were feeling 'both sad and happy', 'somewhat sad' or 'very sad'[9]. Respondents were asked to answer with respect to the first year after arrival in Canada and also the past month (at the time of the interview). Responses ranged widely and, for the

[9] This question was a follow-up to a general question which asked refugees how happy or sad they felt in the first year and past month (at the time of being interviewed).

purposes of analysis, are collapsed into two main categories: 1) familial ties, including both immediate and extended family members; and 2) extra-familial ties, including a) friends and neighbors; b) host community contacts such as health professionals, counselors, co-workers, colleagues, classmates, roommates and teachers; and c) ethnic group ties such as community members and religious leaders.

It is important to note that the need for emotional support during periods of 'sadness' was significantly more pronounced during the first year of arrival compared to the past month (at the time of the interview). During the first year of arrival, 52% of the total sample reported periods of sadness; 38% (or n=199) of whom sought emotional support. In the past month (at the time of being interviewed), only 27% reported feelings of sadness, with only 18% (n=93) seeking emotional support.

*Emotional Support During the First Year of Resettlement*

Table 4-9 examines who refugees would talk to if they were 'both sad and happy', 'somewhat sad' or 'very sad' in their first year of arrival. A significant proportion (41%) identified family members as their main source of emotional support. Refugees were more likely to confide in their spouse (25%) compared to other family members (17%). Refugees also reported friends as a major source of emotional support. Forty percent of the respondents requiring emotional support identified 'friends' as main sources of support. Only a small proportion of refugees (13%) requiring support identified host and ethnic community contacts as sources of emotional support. Thus, despite the fact that many refugees experienced disrupted family networks during the first year after arrival, most respondents who required emotional support were able to draw support from family members and close friends (or what, in the absence of family, may have been considered fictive kin).

Significant gender differences were evident. Males were somewhat less likely to draw upon a spouse (21% versus 27% of females) and more likely to draw upon host and ethnic community contacts (16% versus 10%, respectively) during their first year in Canada. This makes sense considering that males were more likely to have left behind family members and were more likely to be single compared to females. Furthermore, males may prefer extra-familial ties for emotional support, or there may be greater opportunities for males to be exposed to host and/or ethnic community contacts.

Older refugees reported different support network patterns, compared to their younger counterparts. For example, a lower proportion of refugees in the oldest age category confided in their spouse compared to other age groups (14%). This may reflect more widows in this age category and proportionately more who left spouses behind (see Table 4.6). Members in this age group were also more likely to confide in other family (36%). Furthermore, no one in this oldest age category confided in host or ethnic community ties during times when they required emotional support.

*Emotional Support in the Past Month (at the time of the interview)*

Compared to their first year in Canada, significantly fewer refugees reported feelings of sadness, and fewer still required emotional support (38% in the first year compared to 18% in the past month). However, after their first year in Canada, refugees continued to rely most heavily on family and friends compared to host and ethnic community contacts. Table 4-10 reveals that, compared to their emotional support network during the first year of resettlement (Table 4-9), refugees came to rely more on 'other family' as settlement progressed (17% in first year versus 25% in past month). The growing preference for 'other family' indicates that a broader range of family members may have migrated to Canada over the course of resettlement *enabling* refugees to draw upon them for emotional support. The expansion of family networks also meant a slight

decrease in the use of friends (40% in first year versus 37% in past month) and host and ethnic community contacts (13% in first year versus 8% in past month). The exception is among refugees 51 years and older who came to rely even more on friends (60%) and other family members (40%) compared to their own spouse as settlement continued. In fact, none of the refugees in this oldest age group confided in their spouse 'in the past month'. It is not immediately apparent why this change took place.

In addition, although the use of ethnic and host community contacts was low overall, males (16% in the first year versus 3% in the past month) significantly reduced the use of such contacts while females' use of these ties remained virtually the same (10% in first year versus 11% in the past month). Males may have relied more heavily on ethnic and host community contacts when they first arrived because they were less likely than females to have arrived with family and to have had a pre-existing kin network before arrival. Compared to the first year of resettlement, a greater proportion of males reported friends as a main source of emotional support within the past month (41% in first year versus 56% in the past month). Furthermore, as family networks continued to expand, the proportion of females confiding in 'other family' (19% in first year versus 32% in past month) significantly increased while the proportion confiding in friends decreased (39% in first year versus 26% in past month).

*Support Network When Discussing Money, Job, Health, and Personal Matters*

A second set of questions about tie strength asked respondents who they would talk to if they experienced money, job, health and personal problems. Again, responses ranged significantly and, for the purposes of analysis, are collapsed into two broad categories - familial and extra-familial responses. Familial ties include spouse or partner, children and a range of extended family members including parents, siblings, uncles/aunts, cousins and other relatives. Extra-familial ties include four main categories: a) friends; b) extra-familial host

community ties such as sponsors, social workers, counselors, government agencies, financial advisors, lawyers, police officers, employers, co-workers, colleagues, classmates, roommates and teachers; c) ethnic group ties such as religious and community leaders and members; and d) one's self. A refugee who reported not having anyone with whom to discuss various issues may reflect several circumstances. First, individuals may not have reliable, trusted, and/or appropriate contact(s), and therefore would prefer or be forced to solve problems without discussion. Second, despite having potential sources of support, the individual might prefer to solve his/her problem without discussion.

*i. Money Matters*

Regarding money matters, refugees were asked: "If you had a serious money problem, who could you talk to about it, if you wanted to?" Table 4-11 shows that when money matters were discussed, refugees were more likely to talk to in-group ties (family and friends) than to broader extra-familial ties. Money matters discussed outside the family were shared mostly with 'other host community' contacts, such as financial institutions, rather than one's broader ethnic community (religious/community leaders, not co-ethnic friends). Approximately one-fifth (19%) of the total sample reported confiding in their spouse or partner about money matters.

A greater proportion of females (24%) compared to males (14%) discussed money matters with their spouse/partner. Females (26%) were also more inclined than males (17%) to talk to 'other family' about money matters. Males, however, were more likely than females to draw upon extra-familial ties, such as friends and broader community contacts when discussing money matters. Furthermore, more males (16%) than females (5%) either prefer solving their money problems on their own or do not have anyone with whom to discuss such problems.

Older refugees confided most in 'other family' members (40%) and least in their spouse (2%) and friends (12%). A higher proportion of refugees in the youngest (12%) and oldest age categories (14%) compared to those between 31 and 50 years have no one with whom to discuss their money problems or prefer solving them on their own. This finding may reflect the greater proportion of young single males living on their own and/or the relatively larger numbers of widows within the oldest age category.

Former Yugoslavians were the least likely to either solve their money problems on their own or to have no one with whom to solve their problems (7%).

*ii. Job Problems*

With respect to job problems, refugees were asked: "If you had a serious problem with your job, who could you talk to about it, if you wanted to?" Table 4-12 reveals that over one-third (40%) of the total refugee sample would discuss employment concerns with a 'host community' contact, such as a boss/employer/manager. Males (9%) are more likely than females (2%) to prefer solving their job problems on their own or have no one with whom to discuss such matters.

Refugees between 31 and 40 years (20%) and 41 and 50 years (18%) are most likely to discuss job concerns with a spouse. Again, this probably reflects the higher proportion of widows and of spouses left behind in the oldest age group and the higher percentage of single refugees in the youngest age category. The youngest and oldest groups, compared to those between 31 and 50 years, are more likely to turn to 'other family' and friends. It should also be noted that a significant proportion of refugees who are 51 or older are retired (23%), and thus are not likely to require assistance in this area.

Because African refugees have a less dense family network, it is not surprising that they would confide less in a spouse (0%) and 'other family' (9%), compared to a host community contact (50%) and friends (18%). In contrast, again, former Yugoslavian (4%) refugees were least likely to have no one with which to discuss a job matter, or preferred discussing these matters on their own.

*iii. Health Matters*

Refugees were also asked: "If a serious health problem (for you or your family) came up, who could you talk to about it, if you wanted to?" Table 4-13 shows the vast majority of refugees (64%) prefer to discuss health problems with extra-familial ties, frequently speaking to a member of the professional community such as a doctor or a nurse. The youngest and the oldest refugees are more likely to turn to 'other family' rather than a spouse.

The less extensive family network of African refugees is again evident. African refugees are the least likely to turn to a spouse (0%), and 'other family' (9%), and significantly more likely to turn to an 'other host community' contact (79%) when discussing health matters.

*iv. Personal Problems*

Refugees were also asked: "If you had a serious personal problem, who could you talk to about it, if you wanted to?" Combining 'spouses', and 'other family', Table 4-14 reveals that a greater proportion of refugees (60%) would rely on familial ties rather than extra-familial ties when discussing personal problems. Furthermore, compared to other family members, over one-third (38%) of all refugees confided in their spouses.

Table 4-14 also shows that females tended to draw more greatly upon 'other family' (26%, females versus 19%, males) when discussing personal problems.

Compared to other age groups, refugees who are 51 years or older confide the least in friends (5%) and spouses (21%) and the most in 'other family' members (47%) for personal matters.

Regional variations show that a greater proportion of Polish (67%) and former Yugoslavian (44%) refugees confide in their spouse regarding personal matters. Furthermore, likely because of their relatively smaller family network, African refugees (18%) are the most likely to confide in 'other host community' contacts, such as a counselor, host family/sponsor or a doctor. Furthermore, 25% of the East Asian population and 21% of the African population have no one with whom to discuss personal problems or tend to solve these problems on their own. Once again, former Yugoslavians (6%) were least likely to have no one with whom to discuss personal problems.

**Summary**

In the first year of arrival, the majority of refugees requiring emotional support turned to family members (particularly spouses) and friends, specifically during periods of sadness. Thus, despite disrupted family networks in the first year of arrival, refugees were able to draw from a familial or, what may have been considered, a fictive kin network, if they required emotional support. Sources of emotional support have changed little over time. Familial ties continue to be preferred over extra-familial ties during periods of emotional stress. Because more of their family members had arrived in Canada by the time they were interviewed, refugees gained greater opportunities to and, in fact, did confide in family (both immediate and extended) more than they did during their first year in Canada. A similar preference for family was apparent when refugees were asked who they would talk to if they had personal problems.

Matters which are not personal in nature, that is, those requiring specialized knowledge beyond personal and emotional concerns, required refugees to

broaden their range of ties. Because host community contacts may best solve such matters, they were more likely to be used as main sources of support for money, job and health problems. This observation holds true for refugees from all regions. Over one-third of the sample preferred discussing employment problems with a host community contact, such as a boss/employer/manager. In terms of health matters, refugees demonstrated an overwhelming preference for extra-familial ties, mostly doctors and nurses.

Thus, in general, with whom a refugee confides is more a function of the nature of one's problem than the type of network tie (i.e., familial versus extra-familial). When family is not the first consideration, refugees tend to seek aid from institutions which will best serve the nature of the problem.

*Gender Differences in Emotional Support Networks*

Since males were more likely to have left family behind and more likely to be single, they tended to rely on extra-familial sources of emotional support more than on familial ties. Males more than females sought advice from host community contacts and friends regarding money concerns. In addition, more males than females preferred solving their money and employment problems on their own or had no one with which to discuss such matters. As males developed their circle of ties, a greater proportion identified their friends as a main source of emotional support, in contrast to an earlier reliance on host and ethnic community contacts. Seeking out extra-familial ties may indicate the greater exposure that males have with host and/or ethnic community contacts. As extended family members migrated to Canada, females tended to shift their preference from friends to 'other family'. When refugees turned to a family member, females were more likely than males to turn to their spouse and other family regarding money matters.

*Age Differences in Emotional Support Networks*

The oldest refugees turned exclusively to family members, as opposed to host or ethnic community contacts, during times of emotional stress and tended to rely more on 'other family' than on spouses regarding personal issues. Because of the relatively greater number of widows, and of spouses left behind in the oldest age category, and the greater number of single refugees in the youngest age category, young and old refugees were most likely to have no one with whom to discuss money matters. Furthermore, for the same reasons, members of these age groups are least likely to discuss health matters with a spouse. Middle aged refugees (between 31 and 50 years) were more likely to turn to their spouse than to other family members regarding employment matters.

*Regional Differences in Emotional Support Networks*

Refugees in most regional groups typically sought emotional support from family and friends as opposed to other sources. The African population is an exception. Because one-half of the African refugee sample is single, many found their source of emotional support in friends and in broader community contacts. Because of their less extensive family network, Africans are also most likely to seek out professional sources to discuss personal matters, employment problems, and health issues. Former Yugoslavian refugees demonstrated fairly consistently the extensive ties available to them, as they were the least likely to report they did not have anyone with whom to discuss various concerns.

**Time Spent with Familial and Extra-familial Ties**

Tie strength can also be measured by the time spent with various individuals and groups. Frequency of contact with familial and extra-familial ties was assessed by asking refugees how often, in the past few months, they had interacted with the following: a) family; b) friends from their own ethnic-religious group; c)

their sponsor family or a Canadian host volunteer; d) 'other' Canadian friends; e) neighbors; f) people from work (when not at work); and g) other immigrants from a different culture. Possible responses included four categories: "Never", "Sometimes", "Often", "Daily".[10]

*Frequency of Contact with Familial and Extra-familial Ties*

Table 4-15 reveals that refugees' inner circle of ties, such as family and co-ethnic friends, were the most frequently visited. Overall, one-quarter (26%) of the total sample reported seeing family outside of their household 'daily' or 'often'. Furthermore, an even larger proportion (47%) reported seeing friends from their own culture 'daily' or 'often'. In contrast, only 7% of the total sample reported seeing their sponsor family daily or often.

More refugee men (24%) than women (17%) interacted daily/often with friends outside their ethnic group ('Other Canadian friends'). The greatest proportion of refugees seeing family outside the household 'daily/often' were among those 51 years and older (37%). In addition, refugees in the oldest age category were also twice as likely to see their sponsor family 'daily/often' (14%). In contrast, refugees from the youngest age group spent more time (i.e., daily/often) with 'other Canadian friends', particularly in comparison to the oldest age group (32% versus 7%). A lower proportion of older refugees spent time with people from work. These findings suggest that middle-aged and older refugees interact less with mainstream society (i.e., 'other Canadian friends', 'people from work'). Older refugees tend to restrict their interactions to in-group ties, such as family and friends within their culture, or individuals met immediately upon arrival, such as their sponsor/host family.

[10] Respondents were asked the following: "Not counting when you were at your job, how often, in the past few months, have you spent time with the following people? Family outside your household?; friends from (reference country)?; sponsor family?; other Canadian friends?; neighbors?; people from work?; other immigrants?

Table 4-15 reveals that refugees from all regions show a strong preference for seeing friends and family on a daily basis. However, compared to other groups, African refugees reported proportionately more daily contact with 'Other Canadian friends' (38%), perhaps reflecting the relative absence of immediate family networks.

*Participation in Activities Outside the Home*

Time investment in various activities outside the home offers another measure of tie strength, focussing not only on the types of activities that refugees prefer, but also on the social spaces in which contacts are made, and on the type of people with whom refugees prefer to spend their time. Five main types of activities are examined in this study. Refugees answered "Yes" or "No" to the following five questions and, where applicable, were asked to indicate the type of activities.

- "Do you participate in any sports or recreational activities? What kinds of sports or recreational activities?"
- "Do you participate in any volunteer activities in the community or your cultural group? What kinds of volunteer activities?"
- "Do you attend some place of worship on a regular basis?"
- "Do the people from (*home country*) organize social events such as dinners, dances or other group activities? Do you attend? (response categories for attendance include: "Often", "Sometimes" and "Never")
- "Do you go out for other activities such as eating out, going to a bar, going to a concert, or watching your children in sports or school activities? What kinds of activities?"

*i. Participation in Sports/Recreational Activities*

Table 4-16 reveals that over one-half (54%) of the sample reported spending some time participating in sports/recreational activities. Males are more active than females in sports/recreational activities (65% versus 42%, respectively). This finding suggests that males may have more opportunity to meet people outside the family network. African (73%) refugees are more likely to participate in sports/recreational activities. These refugees are particularly active in team sports (results not shown in table). This type of activity may offer African refugees opportunities to increase their range of ties in the broader society.

*ii. Participation in Volunteer Activities*

Participation rates in volunteer activities are comparatively low among refugees (Table 4-16), with only one-third (34%) of the total sample devoting some time to this type of activity. This is slightly higher than national averages which reveal 27% of Canadian adults volunteering in 2000, down from 31% in 1997 (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Volunteer activities among refugees were generally confined to areas and organizations with which refugees were most familiar, such as helping services related to newcomers/emergency services, cultural/religious/community events, and employment-related volunteer services (results not shown in Table). These types of services reflect the limited extent to which refugees are embedded within the broader mainstream society. Volunteer activities are reflective of refugees' needs and concerns, such as employment and aid/refugee-related issues, as opposed to the variety of volunteer services in the broader society such as political activities and a range of arts/cultural activities.

Women and men are equally likely to volunteer. However, as age increases, participation in volunteer activities by refugees decreases (Table 4-16). About two-thirds of refugees who were 40 years or younger had volunteered compared to about one-quarter of the older refugees.

*iii. Participation in Organized Ethnic Group Activities*

Two additional indicators measure the degree to which refugees are involved in organized activities within their ethnic group, namely, social events and place of worship attendance. Participation in these activities indicates the degree of interaction with in-group as opposed to mainstream ties. Table 4-16 shows that over one-half (54%) of the respondents participate in various ethnic group events organized by members of their community such as formal dinners, dances and other group activities.

More males than females are actively involved in organized ethnic group activities (58% versus 49%). The youngest age group (58%) participates the most in ethnic group events.

East Asian (38%) and former Yugoslavian (45%) refugees are the least likely to participate in ethnic group events. Conversely, Middle Eastern refugees are much more involved, with 80% participating in ethnic group events.

Almost two-thirds (63%) of the total sample attend a place of worship (Table 4-16). Higher rates of attendance, however, are evident in the oldest age group, with almost three-quarters (71%) reporting that they attend a place of worship. Proportionately fewer East Asian (44%) and former Yugoslavian (52%) refugees attend a place of worship compared to refugees from other regional groups. Since former Yugoslavians are relatively recent arrivals and may not have integrated into pre-existing ethnic communities, it is likely that places of

worship and established ethnic/religious communities within the broader former Yugoslavian group are not readily available.

*iv. Participation in Informal Leisure Activities*

Finally, Table 4-16 reveals that over two-thirds of the sample (67%) reported participating in 'other activities'. This category consists of a variety of informal leisure activities including family activities (particularly with children), and various other entertainment/social activities such as going out for dinner, for coffee, to a movie/theatre/concert and so on. Thus, most refugees interact informally within the social and cultural spaces in the broader society.

Younger compared to older refugees are more likely to participate in 'other activities', such as going for social outings with friends or children. For example, while almost three-quarters of refugees between 22 and 40 years participate in these activities, only 44% of the oldest age category do so.

**Sponsorship and Host Matching Programs**

*Sponsorship*

Sponsors are valuable network ties as refugees resettle in their new home. In addition to allowing refugees the opportunity to immigrate into Canada, sponsors are legally obligated to provide a range of services to refugees upon arrival in Canada. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2000), government-sponsored programs must provide refugees with income support for up to one year, "as well as initial essential services including meeting the refugee at the airport, temporary accommodation if required, orientation and information, preliminary assessments and links to other applicable services such as language and training" (CIC, 2000: 2). Private sponsors are obligated to provide refugees with basic services including accommodation, clothing, food,

and a range of settlement services for up to one year or more depending on the circumstances of the refugee receiving aid.

Table 4-17 shows that almost three-quarters (72%) of the refugees in this sample stated that they were government-sponsored, while one-quarter (25%) were privately sponsored. Three percent reported being sponsored by a 3-9 program, in which both private sponsors and the government share responsibility for newly-arrived refugees. Private sponsors included church groups, ethnic-cultural organization, family members and groups of individuals. While only small gender differences were apparent, the oldest cohort of refugees (44%), and refugees who were Polish (100%) and Middle Eastern (43%), were considerably more likely to be privately sponsored.

In terms of tie duration, 17% of the sample reported maintaining contact with their sponsors at the time of being interviewed. A greater proportion of refugees (37%) from the oldest age category reported maintaining contact with their sponsors.

*Host-Matching Programs*

Similar to sponsorship assistance, host-matching programs are designed to aid newcomers in the first years of resettlement. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2000) lists a range of service provider organizations offering host matching programs for immigrants and refugees nation-wide. In Alberta, the Calgary Catholic Immigration Centre, Catholic Social Services (Edmonton), the Central Alberta Refugee Effort (Red Deer) and the Mennonite Centre for Newcomers (Edmonton and Calgary) are among the main organizations providing a host-matching service.

As network ties, host volunteers may be instrumental in securing employment or accommodation for a refugee. Interaction with a host volunteer may also provide

refugees opportunities to practice and refine their English language skills and the range of social/cultural capital knowledge and skills required to interact daily in a mainstream environment.

Table 4-18 shows that one-third (33%) of the total sample were involved in a host- matching program. Males were just as likely as females to receive aid from a host volunteer. Regional variations are most apparent. Yugoslavian (42%) and African (41%) refugees were considerably more likely to be matched with a host volunteer compared to refugees from other regions.

Over 20% of refugees spent up to one year involved with their host. Substantially fewer were involved with a host volunteer for fifteen or more months. No significant gender or age patterns are evident. Former Yugoslavian refugees appear to have spent the longest time involved with their host volunteers, with 6% extending their host/refugee relationship for 25 or more months.

At the time of being interviewed, only 19% of the total sample maintained contact with their host. Compared to refugees from other regions, a greater proportion of former Yugoslavian (23%) and African (29%) refugees maintained contact with their host family.

**Summary**

*General Observations*

While one-quarter (26%) of the sample spent time daily with family outside their household, a larger proportion (47%) spent time with friends from their own culture on a daily basis. The development and maintenance of familial and extra-familial ties occur in a variety of social spaces. Refugees do not limit their interactions to in-group ties (i.e., family and co-ethnic friends). Participation in a

range of activities indicates their extensive interaction with both in-group ties and contacts in the larger society. Over two-thirds (67%) of the sample participate in a range of leisure/informal activities ('other activities') with family and friends, activities that might introduce them to the broader social and cultural environment in Canada. Almost the same proportion (63%) attend a place of worship. Fewer refugees invest time in sports/recreational activities (54%). Participation in organized ethnic group events, such as formal dinners/dances, are also popular activities for over one-half (54%) of the sample.

Refugees show the least interest in participating in volunteer activities, with only one-third (34%) of the sample devoting any volunteer time. However, this proportion is little different from the Canadian norm. Contacts made in volunteer activities are generally confined to the helping services, particularly those with which refugees are most familiar, such as newcomer/emergency volunteer assistance, and employment-related volunteer services. Thus, participation in volunteer activities is limited to refugee needs and concerns rather than reflecting integration into broader social/cultural and political activities.

Almost three-quarters of all refugees in the sample were government-sponsored, while one-quarter reported being privately-sponsored. Only 18% reported maintaining contact with their sponsors at the time of being interviewed. Almost one-third of the sample were involved in a host-matching program, and 19% reported maintaining contact with their host at the time of being interviewed. In other words, most refugees do not continue to rely on hosts and sponsors as resettlement progresses. This is in line with past research which shows that over a period of time the refugee/sponsor relationship tends to deteriorate as refugees interact less intensely and frequently with their sponsors.

*Gender Differences*

More males than females invest time in sports/recreational activities. As well, males more than females invest their time in organized ethnic group activities/events. However, males were just as likely as females to participate in other leisure activities, and to receive aid from a host volunteer.

*Age Differences*

Refugees who are over 50 years tend to spend more time with in-group ties, such as family and co-ethnic friends, and limit their interactions with broader ties to their sponsor/host family. Instead, place of worship attendance is a more common activity for the oldest cohort. Even though the youngest age group (58%) participates the most in ethnic group events, they also show evidence of greater interaction with mainstream groups, investing comparatively more time with friends outside their ethnic group and co-workers.

*Regional Differences*

Most of the refugees report daily or frequent visits with in-group ties (family and co-ethnic friends). African refugees, however, show greater interaction with other Canadian friends and host families, possibly because of their less extensive family network. African refugees also invest more time in team sports, and have more daily contact with friends outside their ethnic group, perhaps offering them more opportunities to build networks in the mainstream environment.

**D. Human Capital**

Having discussed social capital at length, this section examines refugees' stock of human capital upon arrival or in the first year of resettlement in Canada. Three main forms of human capital are considered: English language training,

educational credentials obtained prior to arrival in Canada, and occupation in former home.

**English Language Training**

As a form of human capital, knowledge of English is a valuable and necessary tool for integrating successfully in a predominantly English-speaking country such as Canada. This language advantage may positively impact the resettlement of refugees in all aspects of social, cultural and economic integration. While the survey questionnaire contained no precise measure of English language proficiency prior to arrival, it did ask respondents if they received ESL (English as a Second Language)/LINC (Language Instruction for Newcomers) training upon arrival in Canada and how long they were enrolled in such instruction. Thus, ESL/LINC instruction measures who, at the very least, requires English training, and thus offers some insight into who was and was not proficient at English prior to arrival.

Table 4-19 clearly shows that the majority of refugees were deficient, to some degree, in English language skills, with 83% accessing some ESL/LINC training upon arrival in Canada. Almost two-thirds (64%) had been enrolled in full-time instruction. The majority of the respondents received under one year of English language instruction. Compared to other age groups, a smaller proportion of refugees who are 51 years or older were enrolled in full-time English language instruction (42% versus over 60% for every other age group). In addition, a lower proportion of African refugees were enrolled in ESL/LINC training (62% versus 75% or more for every other region). Refugees from these two categories either did not require English language instruction or did not have the opportunity to or want to learn English.

**Educational Attainment Prior To Arrival**

The educational credentials acquired in one's former home represent another important form of human capital. Educational credentials may greatly influence one's occupational success and income status as one settles in Canada. In general, refugees in this sample were well-educated before arriving in Canada. Table 4-20 presents refugees' highest level of education obtained before coming to Canada. Almost one-third (30%) had at least some secondary education (incomplete or completed high school diploma), while over one-half (55%) had obtained some post-secondary schooling in their former homes. Over one-quarter (27%) had a completed diploma/certificate/bachelor's degree or had professional/graduate level training before arriving in Canada.

Table 4-20 shows only minor gender differences in educational attainment. However, the greatest proportion of refugees with some post-secondary university training is in the 31-40 years category (42%) and in the 41 and 50 years category (42%). Younger refugees were the least likely to have completed some form of post-secondary university education (11%). They were also more likely to report 'incomplete' training at this level (15%). This finding most likely reflects the fact that many young refugees were still in the process of finishing their post-secondary degrees/diplomas when they had to leave their home country.

Refugees from the Middle East were most likely to report 'no schooling' (18%). Central/South American (46%) and former Yugoslavian (38%) refugees were most likely to have received some post-secondary university education, compared to East Asian (13 %) and Middle Eastern (22%) refugees.

**Occupation in Former Home**

Table 4-21 demonstrates that refugees' former occupations range from professional and semi-professional to skilled service occupations to 'blue collar' and service employment.

On average, a large proportion of refugees had been employed in occupations requiring advanced training. Almost one-half (47%) of all refugees were employed in professional/managerial or skilled occupations. The rest were employed in lower-status blue collar and sales and service occupations (12%). Seventeen percent of the sample had not held a job in their former home.

Males (48%) and females (47%) were equally represented in a range of professional/managerial occupations in their former homes. However, males were also more likely to work in lower-status occupations. Furthermore, women were more likely to have not held a paying job in their former homes.

The youngest refugees were more likely to be employed in jobs requiring little education or training. For example, a higher proportion reported being employed in sales and service occupations (15%) compared to occupations in management (0%) and social science, education, government service and religion (3%). It is likely that the youngest refugees had not yet acquired the advanced education/training that is required to be employed in professional or semi-professional careers. In contrast, over one-quarter (26%) of the refugees between 41 and 50 years were employed in natural and applied sciences and related occupations (the majority were male and professional engineers.) Furthermore, a greater proportion of refugees in the youngest (35%) and oldest age groups (23%) had not been employed.

## Summary

### *General Observations*

The vast majority of refugees received some ESL/LINC training, suggesting a certain degree of deficiency in the English language. Over two-thirds (71%) of the sample received up to one year of training. However, many refugees were well educated, with over one-half (54%) having some post-secondary education. Refugees were employed in a variety of occupations in their former homes, with almost half employed in professional or managerial positions.

### *Gender Differences*

Rates of educational attainment were similar for males and females. Females were more likely than males to be out of the labour force before coming to Canada. Males were more likely than females to have been employed in trades, transport and equipment operator occupations, natural and applied sciences, and management occupations, whereas females were more likely to be employed in the areas of social science, education, government and religion; business, finance and administration; and sales and services.

### *Age Differences*

The youngest age group were the least likely to have completed post-secondary education, a process that may have been disrupted because of their refugee status. Because they were likely in the early stages of post-secondary training, younger refugees were more likely to be employed in jobs requiring little education or training in their former home. In contrast, older refugees were over-represented in employment requiring advanced training/education.

*Regional Differences*

Former Yugoslavians and Central South Americans were most likely to have acquired a university-level education. Given this, it was not surprising to find a greater proportion of former Yugoslavian and Central/South American refugees employed in areas requiring greater education/training, such as occupations in the natural and applied sciences, and in the areas of social science, education, government service and religion. Upon arrival in Canada, African refugees appeared to have a distinct English language advantage, as proportionately fewer were enrolled in ESL/LINC training.

## E. Conclusion

Research has shown that newcomers to Canada have a greater chance of successfully resettling if they have substantial and diverse stocks of economic, human, cultural and social capital. For refugees, the nature of a refugee's stock of *social capital*, in particular, has formed the focus of much current research, suggesting that a refugee's network structure may represent one of the few forms of potentially useful capital available to refugees when they arrive in a new country. Because of their central role, it is necessary to establish the types of ties that are available to refugees when they enter their new home, the relative importance of ties, and the time invested in various ties. Thus, unlike most previous research, this chapter offered a systematic and detailed descriptive analysis of familial and extra-familial ties, revealing overall these refugees are, in various ways and to varying degrees, embedded within a network structure starting from the pre-migration stage and throughout the process of resettlement. In addition to potential forms of social capital, these refugees were also very likely to arrive in Canada with a substantial stock of human capital. Thus, this chapter also examined refugees' English language status and their former educational and occupational status.

Refugees, on average, had a substantial and varied stock of social ties available to them when they arrived in Canada. In particular, the majority of refugees were embedded within a *familial network structure* upon arrival, its content representing a range of immediate and extended family members. While many refugees did not integrate into a pre-existing kin network, most arrived with immediate and other close family members. Furthermore, the majority of refugees live in a household containing two to four people which implies the frequency of contact with and proximity to family members, as well as indexing the number of available individuals upon which a refugee may depend emotionally, socially, and/or economically.

While most refugees were embedded within a family structure, a degree of separation from family members was evident as most refugees planned to sponsor relatives and remained in contact with family living in the former home. Refugees, in particular, placed greater emphasis on sponsoring close family members, perhaps reflecting their emotional and instrumental dependence on close as opposed to more distant family members or, perhaps, indicating the constraints imposed by the Canadian government on sponsoring distant relatives.

The familial network structure of males and females differ in significant ways. Females are more likely than males to have an established family structure in their current place of residence in Canada, particularly children. For this sample, African male refugees, in particular, are more likely than other refugees to be single and perhaps living on their own. The ways in which proximity to ties affects resettlement outcomes may vary considerably with age, gender and region of origin. While females may benefit emotionally and socially from the presence of family, they may also be constrained in pursuing their educational and occupational aspirations, particularly if they are embedded in a patriarchal family structure, and are the primary caregivers for their young children. On the other hand, a less traditional family structure may offer females greater access to

mainstream institutions and services, particularly if family members are well established and well connected. For the less connected male, the "strength of weak ties" may be operating, as weaker family ties may afford males greater time, mobility and freedom to integrate socially and culturally and to pursue educational, occupational, and residential opportunities. In this sample, this may be the case for single African male refugees.

Age patterns offer a glimpse into the relationships between mobility, agency and capital power within the context of family ties. Specifically, compared to other age groups, a greater proportion of adult children preceded the arrival of the oldest refugees. This suggests that adult children may have the capital power to act as sponsors to their parents. On the other hand, compared to other age groups, a greater proportion of older refugees stated that they planned to sponsor their adult children left behind in the former home. Thus older refugees also are equipped with enough capital to become sponsors. Taken together, these findings suggest the *interdependency* and *agency* of both parents and children as they attempt to generate *capital power* to aid each other in the process of forced migration.

Former Yugoslavians and African refugees have unique family network characteristics. Compared to other groups, former Yugoslavian refugees were less likely to have family in Canada prior to their arrival. However, the conditions of admittance into Canada granted to this group allowed them to arrive as intact nuclear family forms. This is an advantage not offered consistently to refugees from other regions, particularly to East Asian refugees in the sample who still have close family in their former home despite being in Canada for a longer time. On the opposite end of the continuum, refugees with the least extensive family network are from Africa. Many African refugees' main social interactions are with friends rather than family members. This may be explained by the fact that over two-thirds (68%) of the African refugees are young (between 22 and 30 years) and single. Many are males and probably

living alone. It should be noted that a less extensive family network is probably not characteristic of all African refugees. Rather, this familial constitution is representative of this particular cohort of African refugees. Canadian government admission standards may have favored admitting young, single males from this region during the period covered by this study. In addition, other socio-political circumstances governing state relations at the time of their escape may have enabled these young and single individuals easier access to refugee status.

As evidenced through their social and professional interactions, refugees are connected to a range of *extra-familial ties*. Since arriving, friends, neighbors, other newcomers and people from work have been among the main forms of social ties outside the family that refugees have developed. Interactions with professional contacts are also evident when refugees require assistance with health, employment and money problems. Contact with extra-familial ties was also made in the early stages of settlement when refugees were exposed to a variety of service providers, including sponsors, host volunteers, and ESL instructors. Former Yugoslavians appear to have an advantage in terms of having spent a greater duration of time with their host families - a form of network tie which may act as a valuable asset in the early stages of resettlement and orientation to a new environment.

Although refugees had developed and continue to develop both a familial and extra-familial network, time investment and relative importance of ties varies according to need. Despite disrupted family networks in the first year of arrival, refugees were able to call upon family members when they needed to discuss a personal matter or were experiencing degrees of emotional distress. In the absence of family, friends were called upon in times of personal crises, perhaps acting as substitutes for family. This was evident particularly among males, and more specifically, among single African male refugees. As resettlement

continued, refugees maintained their preference for family and friends when discussing personal and/or emotional matters.

When refugees require assistance demanding specialized knowledge, they are more likely to call upon professionals. For example, refugees from all gender, region and age groups demonstrated an overwhelming preference for doctors and nurses when needing to discuss health matters. Males are more likely than females to seek help from professional sources regarding money matters, perhaps reflecting greater exposure to mainstream institutions and greater autonomy (due to absence of family or patriarchal advantage). Males, single and younger refugees, and widows are most likely to be without forms of support, or preferred solving money and employment problems without discussion.

To gauge more specifically the types of extra-familial ties developed, the social spaces in which ties are developed were examined. In order of preference, refugees generated social ties while engaging in leisure activities, ethnic/religious group events, sports/recreational activities, and volunteer activities. The range of ties made in these social spaces include mostly in-group ties, such as family and friends. However, evidence of their participation in sports/recreational, leisure activities, and volunteer services, suggests that refugees broaden their range of contacts to include ties in the broader society.

Turning from social to human capital, this chapter has shown that many refugees were well-educated, the majority having received some post-secondary education before they arrived in Canada. Refugees were trained in a variety of occupations representing a broad range of skill levels. On average, females and males showed similar rates of educational attainment at the high school and post-secondary levels. While both men and women were well represented in professional and managerial occupations, refugee men were represented to a greater degree in blue collar occupations than were women. In general, as age increases, educational status increases. The oldest age cohort contained a

significant proportion of refugees with post-secondary education. The youngest cohort entered Canada with the lowest level of completed post-secondary education, reflecting the possibility that they were still in the process of obtaining an education - a process which may have been disrupted by the refugee experience. Regionally, education advantages favor former Yugoslavian and Polish refugees who have greater levels of completed post-secondary education.

While refugees had, on average, a substantial stock of education and training before arrival, the vast majority appeared to be deficient in one important human capital asset - English language proficiency. The majority of refugees were enrolled in full-time ESL or LINC training, one-third requiring seven months to one year of training, and over 10% requiring more than one year. Because the majority of refugees obtained some degree of English language training, no significant gender, age or regional variations were evident. The exception is among African refugees. Proportionately fewer refugees in this regional category reported being enrolled in ESL/LINC instruction, perhaps indicating an English language advantage and greater opportunity to interact with a mainstream environment.

Overall, this chapter has demonstrated that the refugees examined in this study had substantial stocks of potential social and human capital when they arrived in Canada. Not entirely cut off from the life they left behind, many refugees were (re-) connected with a number of family ties as they resettled in Canada. As resettlement progressed, the range of family ties grew. In addition, support systems strengthened, making the inner circle of ties (family and close friends) an indispensable part of the resettlement process. Interaction with the broader society also increased as settlement progressed, with refugee men being more likely to develop extra-familial ties, and older refugees and women relying more on in-group ties. Variations in familial networks by region of origin depend on the specific nature of various cohorts of refugees arriving in Canada. In addition

to potential forms of social capital, refugees were not lacking in human capital when they arrived in Canada. Many were well-educated and were formerly employed in managerial or professional occupations. The next two chapters present multi-variate analyses of four resettlement outcomes that examine the *capital power* of these forms of social and human capital.

## TABLE 4-1: MARITAL STATUS

| | Married (living with spouse | Married (spouse in different location) | Common-Law Relationship | Separated/ Divorced | Widowed | Single | Total N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Sex** | | | | | | | |
| Female | 70% | 2% | 3% | 6% | 5% | 14% | 265 |
| Male | 70% | 3% | 4% | 3% | 0% | 20% | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 39% | 3% | 7% | 3% | 0% | 49% | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 82% | 3% | 3% | 4% | 2% | 7% | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 83% | 2% | 2% | 7% | 4% | 2% | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 74% | 5% | 0% | 7% | 14% | 0% | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 38% | 9% | 0% | 3% | 3% | 47% | 34 |
| Central/South America | 49% | 2% | 14% | 10% | 0% | 25% | 49 |
| East Asia | 63% | 13% | 0% | 6% | 6% | 13% | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 80% | 1% | 3% | 4% | 2% | 11% | 329 |
| Middle East | 56% | 7% | 2% | 1% | 6% | 28% | 88 |
| Poland | 89% | 0% | 0% | 11% | 0% | 0% | 9 |

## TABLE 4-2a
## NUMBER OF ADULTS IN REFUGEE HOUSEHOLD

| | Adults Aged 22 to 64 | | | | Adults 65 Years or Older | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 Adult | 2 - 4 Adults | 5 or more Adults | No Response | None | 1 Adult | 2 Adults | No Response | (N) |
| **Total Refugee Sample** | [redacted] | | | | | | | | |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 11% | 84% | 4% | 1% | 95% | 3% | 1% | 1% | 265 |
| Male | 15% | 83% | 3% | 0% | 97% | 1% | 2% | 0% | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 19% | 75% | 5% | 1% | 97% | 2% | 0% | 1% | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 9% | 89% | 2% | 0.4% | 97% | 0% | 2% | 0.4% | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 14% | 84% | 2% | 0% | 97% | 2% | 1% | 0% | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 12% | 81% | 7% | 0% | 81% | 12% | 7% | 0% | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 47% | 47% | 6% | 0% | 100% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 34 |
| Central/South America | 10% | 88% | 2% | 0% | 98% | 2% | 0% | 0% | 49 |
| East Asia | 13% | 75% | 13% | 0% | 94% | 6% | 0% | 0% | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 10% | 90% | 0% | 0.3% | 95% | 2% | 2% | 0.3% | 329 |
| Middle East | 14% | 72% | 14% | 1% | 95% | 2% | 1% | 1% | 88 |
| Poland | 0% | 100% | 0% | 0% | 100% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 9 |
| | | | | | | | | | 525 |
| **Total n** | 68 | 438 | 17 | 2 | 504 | 11 | 8 | 2 | |

## TABLE 4-2b
## NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN REFUGEE HOUSEHOLD

| | Children Under the Age of 5 | | | | Children Between 6 and 14 Years | | | | Youth Aged 15 to 21 Years | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | None | 1 - 3 | 4 or more | No Response | None | 1 - 3 | 4 or more | No Response | None | 1 - 3 | 4 or more | No Response | (N) |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 68% | 29% | 3% | 1% | 52% | 47% | 0.4% | 1% | 72% | 26% | 1% | 1% | 265 |
| Male | 72% | 26% | 2% | 0% | 57% | 43% | 0.4% | 0% | 77% | 23% | 0.4% | 0% | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 71% | 26% | 3% | 1% | 84% | 16% | 0% | 1% | 88% | 10% | 1% | 1% | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 57% | 40% | 3% | 0.4% | 36% | 63% | 0.4% | 0.4% | 85% | 15% | 0% | 0.4% | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 87% | 12% | 1% | 0% | 45% | 54% | 1% | 0% | 41% | 58% | 1% | 0% | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 95% | 2% | 2% | 0% | 72% | 7% | 0% | 0% | 51% | 47% | 2% | 0% | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 62% | 32% | 6% | 0% | 82% | 18% | 0% | 0% | 85% | 15% | 0% | 0% | 34 |
| Central/South America | 71% | 29% | 0% | 0% | 51% | 50% | 0% | 0% | 71% | 29% | 0% | 0% | 49 |
| East Asia | 94% | 6% | 0% | 0% | 63% | 38% | 0% | 0% | 31% | 69% | 0% | 0% | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 70% | 30% | 0% | 0.3% | 51% | 49% | 0% | 0.3% | 77% | 23% | 0% | 0.3% | 329 |
| Middle East | 66% | 20% | 13% | 1% | 55% | 42% | 3% | 1% | 74% | 22% | 3% | 1% | 88 |
| Poland | 78% | 22% | 0% | 0% | 78% | 22% | 0% | 0% | 56% | 44% | 0% | 0% | 9 |
| Total n | 366 | 144 | 13 | 2 | 285 | 236 | 2 | 2 | 391 | 129 | 3 | 2 | |

## TABLE 4-3
## ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL SIZE OF ADULT REFUGEES' FAMILIAL NETWORK

| | % YES | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Other Family Already in Canada Before Arrival? | Did Other Family Come With You? | Were Family Members Left Behind? | Planning to Bring Other Family? | Other Family in Current City of Residence? | Maintain Contact with Relatives in Home Country? | (N) |
| **TOTAL Refugee Population** | 22 | 86 | 90 | 46 | 29 | 96 | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | |
| Female | 24 | 92 | 88 | 42 | 29 | 97 | 265 |
| Male | 20 | 80 | 92 | 48 | 29 | 95 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 23 | 72 | 86 | 53 | 32 | 96 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 18 | 91 | 92 | 46 | 28 | 95 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 24 | 92 | 87 | 35 | 20 | 98 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 37 | 88 | 98 | 33 | 51 | 93 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 27 | 50 | 97 | 91 | 27 | 97 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 20 | 96 | 90 | 41 | 35 | 98 | 49 |
| East Asia | 25 | 63 | 88 | 50 | 6 | 88 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 18 | 91 | 90 | 37 | 25 | 99 | 329 |
| Middle East | 38 | 77 | 88 | 59 | 50 | 84 | 88 |
| Poland | 22 | 89 | 100 | 0 | 11 | 100 | 9 |
| **Total n 'Yes'** | 116 | 450 | 472 | 254 | 154 | 503 | 525 |

## TABLE 4-4
## IMMEDIATE AND EXTENDED FAMILY ALREADY IN CANADA

| | Spouse | 1 child | 2 or 3 children | Parents (1 -2) | Sisters/Brothers (1) | Sisters/Brothers (2 or more) | In-Laws (1-2) | Aunts/ Uncles (1 - 3) | Cousins (1-10) | (N) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Did any members of your family already live in Canada when you arrived?* | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | %YES | | | | | | |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 265 |
| Male | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 2 | 16 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 9 | 3 | 9 | 3 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 49 |
| East Asia | 13 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 329 |
| Middle East | 0 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 14 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 88 |
| Poland | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 9 |
| Total n | 6 | | 14 | 7 | 53 | | 12 | 17 | 9 | |
| Total (%) | 1% | | 3% | 1% | 10% | | 2% | 3% | 17% | |

## TABLE 4-5
## IMMEDIATE AND EXTENDED FAMILY ARRIVING WITH REFUGEE

| | Spouse | Children | | Parents | Sisters/Brothers | | Grand-parents | Grand-children | In-Laws | Aunts/ Uncles | Cousins/ Nieces/ Nephews | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1-2 | 3 or more | 1-2 | 1 | 2 or more | 2 | 1-2 | 1 | (1) | (1-6) | (N) |
| *Did other members of your family come to Canada with you?* | | | | | | %YES | | | | | | |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 69 | 57 | 10 | 11 | 6 | 4 | 0.4 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 265 |
| Male | 63 | 50 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 1 | 0.4 | 1 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 35 | 16 | 3 | 2 | 16 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 80 | 66 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0.4 | 0 | 0.4 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 81 | 75 | 17 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 63 | 63 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 29 | 27 | 0 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 59 | 53 | 18 | 18 | 4 | 16 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 49 |
| East Asia | 19 | 31 | 19 | 13 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 79 | 65 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 329 |
| Middle East | 44 | 25 | 24 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 6 | 88 |
| Poland | 67 | 44 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | 525 |
| Total n | 347 | 322 | | 43 | 46 | | 2 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 6 | |
| Total (%) | 66% | 61% | | 8.2% | 8.8% | | 0.4% | 0.8% | 1.3% | 0.2% | 1.0% | |

## TABLE 4-6
## IMMEDIATE AND EXTENDED FAMILY LEFT BEHIND

| | Spouse | Children | | Parents* | Sisters/Brothers | | In-Laws | Aunts/ Uncles | (N) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1-2 | 3 or more | (1 -3) | (1-2) | (3 -10) | (1-2) | (1 - 6) | |
| *Did you leave any members of your extended family behind in your home country (or a refugee camp)?* | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | %YES | | | | | |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 3 | 5 | 1 | 62 | 50 | 14 | 2 | 2 | 265 |
| Male | 4 | 7 | 2 | 70 | 47 | 25 | 1 | 2 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 2 | 3 | 0 | 66 | 39 | 23 | 1 | 3 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 2 | 3 | 0 | 76 | 58 | 18 | 3 | 2 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 4 | 9 | 0 | 63 | 44 | 22 | 2 | 2 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 18 | 26 | 12 | 26 | 42 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 6 | 15 | 0 | 65 | 44 | 38 | 0 | 0 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 2 | 12 | 0 | 59 | 39 | 33 | 2 | 12 | 49 |
| East Asia | 31 | 13 | 25 | 56 | 6 | 63 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 1 | 4 | 0 | 70 | 57 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 329 |
| Middle East | 8 | 5 | 3 | 57 | 28 | 46 | 0 | 0 | 88 |
| Poland | 0 | 11 | 0 | 78 | 56 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Total n | 18 | 35 | | 348 | 358 | | 9 | 10 | |
| Total (%) | 4% | 7% | | 66% | 68% | | 2% | 2% | |

## TABLE 4-7
## PLANS TO SPONSOR IMMEDIATE AND EXTENDED FAMILY

| | Spouse | Children | | Parents | Sisters/ Brothers | | In-Laws | Aunts/ Uncles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1-2 | 3 or more | 1-2 | 1 | 2-10 | 1-2 | 1-7 | (N) |
| ***Are you planning to bring any family members to Canada?*** | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | **%YES** | | | | |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 0.4 | 5 | 0 | 11 | 15 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 265 |
| Male | 7 | 4 | 2 | 14 | 18 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 8 | 3 | 0 | 15 | 20 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 2 | 2 | 0.4 | 14 | 18 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 2 | 8 | 2 | 8 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 0 | 16 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 9 | 15 | 0 | 12 | 44 | 29 | 3 | 3 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 2 | 4 | 0 | 12 | 18 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 49 |
| East Asia | 0 | 25 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 0 | 2 | 0.4 | 13 | 14 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 329 |
| Middle East | 16 | 5 | 2 | 15 | 17 | 9 | 2 | 6 | 88 |
| Poland | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Total n | 18 | 27 | | 65 | 119 | | 25 | 11 | |
| Total (%) | 3% | 5% | | 12% | 23% | | 5% | 2% | |

## TABLE 4-8
## OTHER FAMILY LIVING IN REFUGEES' CURRENT CITY OF RESIDENCE

| | Children | Parents | Sisters/ Brothers | | In-Laws | Aunts/ Uncles | Nieces/ Nephews/ Cousins | Grandparents/ Grandchildren | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 or more | (1- 2) | (1) | (2 or more) | (1-9) | (1-9) | (1-20) | (1 or more) | (N) |
| *Do you have other family members living in current city of residence?* | | | | | %YES | | | | |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 5 | 3 | 10 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 0.4 | 265 |
| Male | 5 | 1 | 11 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 1 | 1 | 16 | 8 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 0.4 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 8 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 35 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 7 | 0 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 3 | 0 | 12 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 10 | 4 | 11 | 15 | 0 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 49 |
| East Asia | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 4 | 2 | 10 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 329 |
| Middle East | 8 | 3 | 15 | 18 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 88 |
| Poland | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| | | | | | | | | | 525 |
| Total n | 25 | 11 | 85 | | 21 | 21 | 22 | 6 | |
| Total % | 5.0% | 2.0% | 16.0% | | 4.0% | 4.0% | 5.0% | 1.0% | |

**TABLE 4-9: FAMILIAL AND EXTRA-FAMILIAL CONTENT OF REFUGEES' EMOTIONAL SUPPORT NETWORK IN FIRST YEAR OF ARRIVAL***

| | % Confiding in Familial and Extra-Familial Ties | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Spouse | Other Family | Friends | Host and Ethnic Community | Other/ No Response | Total n requiring support | Total (N) |
| **TOTAL Refugee Population Seeking Support Network** | 25 | 17 | 40 | 13 | 7 | 199 | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | |
| Female | 27 | 19 | 39 | 10 | 5 | 113 | 265 |
| Male | 21 | 14 | 41 | 16 | 8 | 86 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 25 | 17 | 40 | 13 | 6 | 53 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 26 | 13 | 43 | 12 | 6 | 91 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 24 | 17 | 32 | 17 | 10 | 41 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 14 | 36 | 43 | 0 | 7 | 14 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 0 | 0 | 40 | 60 | 0 | 5 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 29 | 24 | 33 | 14 | 0 | 21 | 49 |
| East Asia | 29 | 14 | 43 | 14 | 0 | 7 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 26 | 17 | 40 | 8 | 8 | 134 | 329 |
| Middle East | 17 | 10 | 38 | 24 | 10 | 29 | 88 |
| Poland | 33 | 33 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| Total n | 48 | 33 | 78 | 28 | 12 | 199 | 525 |

*Refugees were asked to identify who they would talk to if they were feeling 'both happy and sad', 'somewhat sad', or 'very sad'.

**TABLE 4-10: FAMILIAL AND EXTRA-FAMILIAL CONTENT OF REFUGEES' EMOTIONAL SUPPORT NETWORK IN PAST MONTH***

**% Confiding in Familial and Extra-Familial Ties**

| | Spouse | Other Family | Friends | Host and Ethnic Community | Other/ No Response | Total n requiring support | Total (N) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **TOTAL Refugee Population Seeking Support Network** | 26 | 25 | 37 | 8 | 4 | 93 | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | |
| Female | 26 | 32 | 26 | 11 | 5 | 57 | 265 |
| Male | 25 | 14 | 56 | 3 | 3 | 36 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 19 | 31 | 27 | 15 | 8 | 26 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 36 | 19 | 28 | 2 | 5 | 42 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 20 | 25 | 45 | 10 | 0 | 20 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 0 | 40 | 60 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 0 | 33 | 67 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 44 | 22 | 11 | 22 | 0 | 9 | 49 |
| East Asia | 33 | 67 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 28 | 22 | 39 | 7 | 4 | 54 | 329 |
| Middle East | 14 | 7 | 46 | 5 | 9 | 22 | 88 |
| Poland | 50 | 0 | 50 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 9 |
| Total n | 24 | 23 | 36 | 7 | 4 | 93 | 525 |

*Refugees were asked to identify who they would talk to if they were feeling 'both happy and sad', 'somewhat sad', or 'very sad'.

## TABLE 4-11: TIE STRENGTH: REFUGEES' FAMILIAL AND EXTRA-FAMILIAL SUPPORT NETWORK REGARDING MONEY PROBLEMS*

| | % Confiding in Familial and Extra-Familial Ties | | | | | % No Ties and Other Responses | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Spouse/ Partner | Other Family | Friends | Broader Ethnic Community | Other Host Community | No One/Solve on Own/Don't Have Anyone | Other/No Response | (N) |
| **TOTAL Refugee Population** | 19 | 21 | 27 | 0.4 | 18 | 10 | 6 | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 24 | 26 | 24 | 0.4 | 13 | 5 | 8 | 265 |
| Male | 14 | 17 | 30 | 0.4 | 19 | 16 | 5 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 18 | 26 | 28 | 0 | 12 | 12 | 5 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 22 | 18 | 29 | 0.4 | 17 | 8 | 6 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 21 | 15 | 28 | 1 | 18 | 10 | 8 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 2 | 40 | 12 | 0 | 19 | 14 | 12 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 21 | 18 | 24 | 0 | 27 | 12 | 0 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 20 | 29 | 8 | 0 | 14 | 18 | 10 | 49 |
| East Asia | 25 | 25 | 6 | 0 | 19 | 19 | 6 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 17 | 19 | 33 | 0 | 18 | 7 | 7 | 329 |
| Middle East | 24 | 30 | 23 | 2 | 3 | 15 | 3 | 88 |
| Poland | 33 | 11 | 22 | 0 | 22 | 11 | 0 | 9 |
| **Total n** | 100 | 112 | 142 | 2 | 83 | 53 | 33 | 525 |

*Refugees were asked: "If you had a serious money problem, who could you talk to about it, if you wanted to?"

## TABLE 4-12: TIE STRENGTH: REFUGEES' FAMILIAL AND EXTRA-FAMILIAL SUPPORT NETWORK REGARDING JOB PROBLEMS*

| | % Confiding in Familial and Extra-Familial Ties | | | | | % No Ties and Other Responses | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Spouse | Other Family | Friends | Broader Ethnic Community | Other Host Community | No One/Solve on Own/Don't Have Anyone | Other/ No Response/ Not Applicable | (N) |
| **TOTAL Refugee Population** | 15 | 8 | 12 | 1 | 40 | 8 | 16 | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 16 | 10 | 11 | 0.4 | 39 | 2 | 23 | 265 |
| Male | 14 | 6 | 14 | 2 | 41 | 9 | 14 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 7 | 11 | 16 | 1 | 41 | 7 | 18 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 20 | 5 | 11 | 2 | 44 | 4 | 14 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 18 | 5 | 14 | 1 | 36 | 8 | 19 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 7 | 19 | 7 | 0 | 23 | 0 | 44 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 0 | 9 | 18 | 0 | 50 | 6 | 18 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 18 | 10 | 10 | 0 | 44 | 10 | 6 | 49 |
| East Asia | 19 | 19 | 19 | 0 | 25 | 13 | 6 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 17 | 7 | 13 | 0.3 | 42 | 4 | 17 | 329 |
| Middle East | 10 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 30 | 6 | 32 | 88 |
| Poland | 22 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 22 | 11 | 33 | 9 |
| **Total n** | 78 | 42 | 65 | 6 | 208 | 28 | 97 | 525 |

*Refugees were asked: "If you had a serious problem with your job, who could you talk to about it, if you wanted to?"

## TABLE 4-13: TIE STRENGTH: REFUGEES' FAMILIAL AND EXTRA-FAMILIAL SUPPORT NETWORK REGARDING HEALTH PROBLEMS*

| | % Confiding in Familial and Extra-Familial Ties | | | | | % No Ties and Other Responses | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Spouse | Other Family | Friends | Broader Ethnic Community | Other Host Community | No One/Solve on Own/Don't Have Anyone | Other/ No Response | (N) |
| **TOTAL Refugee Population** | 14 | 13 | 6 | 0.4 | 64 | 1 | 1 | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 16 | 15 | 7 | 0.4 | 60 | 1 | 1 | 265 |
| Male | 12 | 10 | 6 | 0.4 | 69 | 2 | 2 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 9 | 18 | 6 | 1 | 65 | 2 | 0 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 18 | 9 | 7 | 0.4 | 61 | 1 | 2 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 20 | 5 | 6 | 0 | 70 | 0 | 0 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 2 | 30 | 0 | 0 | 67 | 0 | 2 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 0 | 9 | 9 | 0 | 79 | 3 | 0 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 18 | 22 | 6 | 2.0 | 47 | 2 | 2 | 49 |
| East Asia | 13 | 25 | 6 | 0 | 56 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 15 | 11 | 6 | 0.3 | 66 | 0.3 | 2 | 329 |
| Middle East | 16 | 11 | 5 | 0 | 65 | 3 | 0 | 88 |
| Poland | 11 | 22 | 11 | 0 | 56 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| **Total n** | 76 | 46 | 33 | 2 | 337 | 6 | 6 | 525 |

*Refugees were asked: "If a serious health problem (for you or your family) came up, who could you talk to about it, if you wanted to?"

## TABLE 4-14: TIE STRENGTH: REFUGEES' FAMILIAL AND EXTRA-FAMILIAL SUPPORT NETWORK REGARDING PERSONAL PROBLEMS*

| | % Confiding in Familial and Extra-Familial Ties | | | | | % No Ties and Other Responses | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Spouse | Other Family | Friends | Broader Ethnic Community | Other Host Community | No One/ Solve on Own/ Don't Have Anyone | Other/ No Response | (N) |
| **TOTAL Refugee Population** | 38 | 22 | 16 | 1 | 7 | 10 | 4 | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 37 | 26 | 18 | 0 | 7 | 8 | 3 | 265 |
| Male | 39 | 19 | 17 | 2 | 8 | 12 | 4 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 30 | 25 | 22 | 1 | 7 | 13 | 2 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 45 | 17 | 16 | 1 | 8 | 9 | 4 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 41 | 21 | 22 | 1 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 21 | 47 | 5 | 0 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 24 | 15 | 24 | 0 | 18 | 21 | 0 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 37 | 27 | 12 | 2 | 4 | 16 | 2 | 49 |
| East Asia | 31 | 19 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 25 | 13 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 44 | 20 | 18 | 0 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 329 |
| Middle East | 21 | 31 | 22 | 5 | 8 | 13 | 1 | 88 |
| Poland | 67 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 9 |
| **Total n** | 199 | 82 | 92 | 6 | 39 | 53 | 19 | 525 |

*Refugees were asked: "If you had a serious personal problem, who could you talk to about it, if you wanted to?"

## TABLE 4-15
## TIME SPENT WITH FAMILIAL AND EXTRA-FAMILIAL TIES*
## %DAILY/ OFTEN

| | Family (Outside Household) | Co-Ethnic Friends | Sponsor Family | Other Canadian Friends | Neighbors | People From Work | Other Immigrants | Total N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 25% | 44% | 9% | 17% | 19% | 10% | 13% | 265 |
| Male | 27% | 49% | 6% | 24% | 24% | 14% | 24% | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 24% | 51% | 8% | 32% | 16% | 20% | 24% | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 30% | 45% | 7% | 20% | 27% | 12% | 9% | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 15% | 43% | 7% | 11% | 17% | 5% | 10% | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 37% | 47% | 14% | 7% | 21% | 5% | 9% | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 18% | 24% | 3% | 38% | 15% | 9% | 27% | 34 |
| Central/South America | 33% | 31% | 6% | 22% | 14% | 14% | 25% | 49 |
| East Asia | 13% | 13% | 13% | 25% | 25% | 25% | 13% | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 23% | 55% | 7% | 19% | 24% | 13% | 11% | 329 |
| Middle East | 40% | 36% | 8% | 19% | 17% | 10% | 15% | 88 |
| Poland | 0% | 78% | 22% | 11% | 11% | 0% | 0% | 9 |

*Refugees were asked how often, in the past few months (at the time of the interview), had they interacted with the groups of individuals listed in the table.

**TABLE 4-16**
**TIME INVESTMENT: PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE THE HOME**

| | % Participating in Activities | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sports/ Recreational Activities | Volunteer Activities | Ethnic Group Events | Place of Worship Attendance | Other Activities | (N) |
| **TOTAL Refugee Population** | 54 | 33 | 54 | 63 | 67 | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | |
| Female | 42 | 35 | 49 | 63 | 65 | 265 |
| Male | 65 | 33 | 58 | 62 | 70 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 55 | 35 | 58 | 60 | 71 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 55 | 37 | 55 | 64 | 70 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 47 | 28 | 47 | 60 | 63 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 54 | 26 | 49 | 71 | 44 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | |
| Africa | 73 | 35 | 65 | 86 | 85 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 63 | 39 | 59 | 78 | 92 | 49 |
| East Asia | 44 | 44 | 38 | 44 | 69 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 51 | 32 | 45 | 52 | 57 | 329 |
| Middle East | 51 | 39 | 80 | 85 | 82 | 88 |
| Poland | 89 | 11 | 67 | 100 | 67 | 9 |
| **Total n Participating in Activities Outside the Home** | 282 | 177 | 282 | 328 | 352 | 525 |

*Respondents were asked if they participate in sports/recreational activities, volunteer activities, and other leisure activities. In addition, refugees were asked if they attend a place of worship and ethnic group events.

## TABLE 4-17: SPONSORSHIP STATUS

| | How were you sponsored? | | | Maintain contact with sponsors? | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Government Sponsored | 3-9 Program | Privately Sponsored | %Yes | No/Not Applicable/ No Response | Total (N) |
| **TOTAL Refugee Population Seeking Support Network** | 72% | 3% | 25% | 17% | 83% | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | |
| Female | 69% | 4% | 27% | 20% | 80% | 265 |
| Male | 75% | 2% | 23% | 15% | 85% | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 75% | 2% | 23% | 15% | 85% | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 78% | 2% | 20% | 16% | 85% | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 65% | 3% | 32% | 17% | 83% | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 44% | 12% | 44% | 37% | 63% | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | |
| Africa | 71% | 0% | 29% | 12% | 88% | 34 |
| Central/South America | 78% | 2% | 20% | 12% | 88% | 49 |
| East Asia | 69% | 0% | 31% | 31% | 69% | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 79% | 3% | 18% | 14% | 86% | 329 |
| Middle East | 50% | 7% | 43% | 30% | 71% | 88 |
| Poland | 0% | 0% | 100% | 56% | 44% | 9 |
| **Total n** | 377 | 16 | 132 | 91 | 434 | 525 |

## TABLE 4-18: HOST-MATCHING PROGRAM STATUS

| | Were you ever in a Host Program? | | | How many months with Host? | | | | | Maintain contact with Host? | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % Yes | % No | % No Response/ Not Applicable | 1-6 months | 7-12 months | 15-24 months | 25 or more months | No Response/ Not Applicable | % Yes | No/ Not Applicable/ No Response | N |
| **TOTAL REFUGEE POPULATION** | 32% | 68% | 0.4% | 12% | 10% | 5% | 4% | 70% | 19% | 81% | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 34% | 66% | 0.4% | 12% | 10% | 5% | 4% | 69% | 22% | 79% | 265 |
| Male | 30% | 69% | 0.4% | 12% | 9% | 4% | 4% | 71% | 17% | 84% | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 32% | 68% | 0.7% | 13% | 10% | 5% | 2% | 70% | 19% | 81% | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 36% | 64% | 0.4% | 15% | 10% | 4% | 5% | 65% | 21% | 79% | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 25% | 75% | 0.0% | 6% | 10% | 3% | 4% | 77% | 14% | 86% | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 28% | 72% | 0.0% | 5% | 7% | 7% | 5% | 77% | 23% | 77% | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 41% | 59% | 0.0% | 12% | 9% | 6% | 0% | 74% | 29% | 71% | 34 |
| Central/South America | 12% | 88% | 0.0% | 0% | 2% | 8% | 2% | 88% | 12% | 88% | 49 |
| East Asia | 19% | 75% | 6.3% | 13% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 88% | 19% | 81% | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 42% | 58% | 0.0% | 16% | 14% | 6% | 6% | 59% | 23% | 77% | 329 |
| Middle East | 8% | 91% | 1.1% | 5% | 2% | 0% | 0% | 93% | 5% | 96% | 88 |
| Poland | 0% | 100% | 0.0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 100% | 0% | 100% | 9 |
| **Total n** | 168 | 355 | 2 | 62 | 51 | 24 | 21 | 367 | 100 | 425 | 525 |

## TABLE 4-19
## ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINING UPON ARRIVAL

| | TAKEN ESL/LINC TRAINING? | | FULL OR PART TIME TRAINING? | | | | | HOW MANY MONTHS OF TRAINING? | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | YES | NO | Full Time | Part Time | Full Time and Part Time | No Response | Not Applicable | 1 - 6 Months | 7 months - 1 year | More than 1 Year | No Response | Not Applicable | N |
| **Total Refugee Population** | 83% | 17% | 64% | 12% | 7% | 1% | 17% | 38% | 35% | 12% | 0% | 17% | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 83% | 17% | 61% | 11% | 10% | 0% | 17% | 37% | 32% | 13% | 0% | 17% | 265 |
| Male | 84% | 16% | 66% | 13% | 5% | 1% | 16% | 39% | 34% | 10% | 1% | 16% | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 82% | 18% | 66% | 10% | 6% | 1% | 18% | 40% | 32% | 10% | 1% | 18% | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 87% | 13% | 66% | 13% | 8% | 0.4% | 13% | 43% | 34% | 10% | 0% | 13% | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 82% | 18% | 64% | 9% | 8% | 1% | 18% | 28% | 39% | 15% | 1% | 18% | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 70% | 30% | 42% | 23% | 5% | 0% | 30% | 28% | 19% | 23% | 0% | 30% | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 62% | 38% | 47% | 15% | 0.0% | 0% | 38% | 29% | 27% | 9% | 0% | 38% | 34 |
| Central/South America | 94% | 6% | 69% | 18% | 6.1% | 0% | 6% | 49% | 35% | 10% | 0% | 6% | 49 |
| East Asia | 75% | 25% | 69% | 0% | 6.3% | 0% | 25% | 38% | 25% | 13% | 0% | 25% | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 85% | 15% | 65% | 9% | 9.4% | 1% | 15% | 37% | 37% | 13% | 0% | 15% | 329 |
| Middle East | 80% | 21% | 58% | 18% | 3.4% | 0% | 21% | 43% | 27% | 9% | 1% | 22% | 88 |
| Poland | 100% | 0% | 78% | 22% | 0.0% | 0% | 0% | 44% | 22% | 33% | 0% | 0% | 9 |
| **TOTAL n** | 436 | 87 | 334 | 63 | 35 | 3 | 87 | 200 | 174 | 62 | 2 | 87 | 525 |

## TABLE 4-20
## HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION OBTAINED IN FORMER HOME

| | No Schooling | Primary | | Secondary | | Post-Secondary Vocational/ Technical/Nursing | | Post-Secondary University | | | Total N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Elementary (Complete/ Incomplete) Grades 1-6 | Junior High (Complete/ Incomplete) Grades 7-9 | High School Incomplete (Grade 10 and 11) | High School Complete (Grade 12) | Incomplete | Complete | Incomplete | Diploma/ Certificate/ Bachelor's Degree | Professional/ Graduate Level | |
| **Total Refugee Population** | 4% | 7% | 4% | 4% | 26% | 3% | 16% | 9% | 24% | 3% | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 5% | 10% | 4% | 4% | 25% | 2% | 16% | 9% | 22% | 4% | 265 |
| Male | 2% | 5% | 4% | 4% | 27% | 5% | 17% | 9% | 25% | 2% | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 2% | 7% | 7% | 9% | 32% | 5% | 14% | 15% | 10% | 1% | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 3% | 4% | 3% | 3% | 24% | 3% | 19% | 7% | 31% | 4% | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 4% | 6% | 2% | 1% | 25% | 4% | 18% | 5% | 32% | 4% | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 14% | 26% | 5% | 0% | 19% | 0% | 14% | 7% | 14% | 2% | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 0% | 3% | 3% | 9% | 41% | 9% | 12% | 15% | 9% | 0% | 34 |
| Central/South America | 2% | 12% | 8% | 6% | 16% | 4% | 4% | 22% | 22% | 2% | 49 |
| East Asia | 6% | 0% | 38% | 19% | 19% | 0% | 6% | 13% | 0% | 0% | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 0% | 6% | 1% | 2% | 28% | 2% | 21% | 7% | 29% | 2% | 329 |
| Middle East | 18% | 13% | 8% | 3% | 19% | 6% | 8% | 7% | 15% | 0% | 88 |
| Poland | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 22% | 0% | 33% | 0% | 22% | 11% | 9 |
| Total n | 19 | 39 | 21 | 136 | 20 | 86 | 17 | 47 | 124 | 16 | 525 |

## Table 4-21
## OCCUPATION IN FOMER HOME

| | [redacted] | Sex | | Age | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Female | Male | 22- 30 Years | 31 - 40 Years | 41 - 50 Years | 51 Years and Older |
| **Professional/Managerial Occupations** | | | | | | | |
| Management Occupations | | 2% | 7% | 0% | 5% | 6% | 12% |
| Business, Finance and Administrative Occupations | | 15% | 7% | 10% | 12% | 14% | 5% |
| Natural and Applied Sciences and Related Occupations | | 7% | 18% | 7% | 11% | 26% | 5% |
| Health Occupations | | 9% | 4% | 5% | 7% | 5% | 9% |
| Occupations in Social Science, Education, Government Service and Religion | | 11% | 7% | 3% | 13% | 9% | 9% |
| Occupations in Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport | | 3% | 5% | 5% | 3% | 5% | 2% |
| **Lower-Status Occupations** | | | | | | | |
| Sales and Service Occupations | | 15% | 9% | 15% | 10% | 11% | 14% |
| Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators and Related Occupations | | 5% | 29% | 16% | 18% | 16% | 16% |
| Primary Industry Occupations | | 2% | 2% | 0% | 3% | 3% | 5% |
| Processing, Manufacturing and Utilities | | 5% | 2% | 3% | 4% | 3% | 0% |
| Own Business/Self-Employed/Family Business | | 1% | 1% | 1% | 2% | 0% | 0% |
| Unemployed or Not Employed in Former Home | | 26% | 9% | 35% | 12% | 3% | 23% |
| No Response | | 0% | 1% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% |

# CHAPTER FIVE

# ECONOMIC OUTCOMES: THE IMPACT OF POTENTIAL CAPITAL ON QUALITY OF EMPLOYMENT, ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND HOME OWNERSHIP

## A. Introduction

Many refugees enter Canada with limited opportunities to reproduce an economic lifestyle similar to one that was experienced in their former country. Problems with foreign credential recognition, or lost documentation verifying the occupational and educational status of refugees, are common dilemmas encountered in the employment adjustment process. These problems often result in a lower quality of employment causing a corresponding drop in income, which in turn, would inevitably affect a wide array of lifestyle choices, including one's residential options. To compensate for this, refugees no doubt turn to their immediate social networks, or what has been referred to as *social capital* (Portes, 1998). In particular, family networks, service providers, sponsors and ethnic group members are the first sources of aid refugees seek out when they attempt to find employment, receive financial aid or purchase a home.

Taking into account former employment and education, current English language status, and training/education obtained in Canada (or potential *human capital),* this chapter examines the relative worth of network ties (potential *social capital*) in refugees' economic adjustment. Three forms of economic outcomes are examined including refugees' quality of employment, annual household income, and home ownership. Potential forms of human and social capital may enable or even constrain refugees in their economic integration. Given that human capital may be ineffective or even constrain economic integration, can social networks compensate for this potential loss? Or,

conversely, would certain social networks also constrain or limit refugees in achieving successful outcomes?

This study recognizes that a refugee's *capital power* is significantly dependent upon a range of additional factors including gender, age, region of origin, length of residence in Canada, foreign credential recognition, and/or discrimination. Thus, the following analyses control such potential predictors of the three economic outcomes to isolate the relative impacts of potential forms of human and social capital.

Employing a multiple regression analysis as its main analytic strategy, this chapter examines the impact of forms of potential capital and various control variables on refugees' quality of employment, annual household income, and home ownership. But first the chapter discusses profiles of refugees' current employment, income and home ownership status, and reviews their stock of potential social and human capital.

## B. Human Capital, Network Ties and Control Variables

### Potential Human Capital

Chapter Four provided a detailed description of refugees' stock of human capital. Many refugees were well educated, with over one-half (54%) having some post-secondary education upon arrival in Canada. Refugees were employed in a variety of employment fields in their former homes, with almost one-half (47%) employed in professional or managerial occupations. When they arrived in Canada, most refugees enrolled in some form of English language training, the majority (71%) receiving up to one year of training. Over one-third (37%) of the sample obtained some form of additional training in Canada.

To measure refugees' human capital, four predictor variables were used in the multiple regression analysis: former occupation and former education, the number of hours of English language training received in Canada, and the number of months of other training/education obtained in Canada. In measuring former occupational status, a score of 1 was given to refugees who were employed in a managerial or professional position in their former country while the remaining respondents received a score of 0. For former education status, scores ranged from 0, indicating no schooling, to 8 representing a professional-level training. English language training status was collapsed into four categories. A score of zero indicates that no training was received, '1' indicates 1-6 months of training, '2' represents 7 to 12 months, and a score of 3 means that a refugee received more than one year of training. Other additional training or education obtained in Canada was measured in months.

**Familial and Extra-Familial Ties**

The preceding chapter also offered a comprehensive description of refugees' familial and extra-familial network structures. When they first arrived in Canada, many refugees did not integrate into a pre-existing kin network within their community or, more broadly, within Canada. Under one-quarter of the sample reported having family in Canada before they arrived.

Most refugees (90%) left behind family members. However, 45% planned to sponsor some of these family members. Despite leaving a large number of relatives behind, the vast majority of refugees (86%) arrived in Canada with some family members. A large proportion came with a spouse and one or two children. But most refugees did not arrive with an extended family, and those who did, arrived with close family members, such as parents or siblings. Upon arrival, the majority of refugees (over 70%) were married and living in a household with 2-4 members. Furthermore, over one-quarter (29%) had family members living in the same city. In particular, siblings, parents and adult

children were the main family ties directly surrounding a refugee's household family structure. To measure the degree of *proximity to close family members*, respondents were given one point each if they had children in their household or had siblings, parents, or adult children living in their current city of residence. Scores on this index range from 0 to 6 (see Appendix A1). The multiple regression analysis also considers the impact of living with a spouse.

Refugees were also connected to a range of *extra-familial ties*. Co-ethnic and other Canadian friends, neighbors, other newcomers, people from work and sponsors/host volunteers were among the main forms of social ties outside the family that refugees developed. A large proportion of the sample (47%) reported seeing friends from their own culture 'daily' or 'often'. Refugees spent the least time with neighbors, with almost one-half (47%) reporting spending no time with this network tie. Refugees also spent time with co-workers outside their place of work, with 12% visiting with them 'daily/often'. Seventeen percent of refugees maintained contact with their sponsors, while 19% of the respondents still spent time with a host volunteer. To measure the extent of a refugee's extra-familial network, respondents were given one point each for each extra-familial tie, including ethnic group friends, other Canadian friends, sponsor/host family, neighbours, people from work, and other immigrants. Scores on this index ranged from 0 to 6.

A final measurement of social capital involves identifying the network ties that were responsible for helping refugees find a job. Employed refugees were asked: "How did you get this (current) job?" A categorization of the responses in Table 5-1a shows that a refugee's network structure was very useful in helping find employment in Canada. Fifty percent of the employed respondents (n=358) relied on some form of social capital to find a job. More specifically, Table 5-1a shows that one-quarter of the sample received help from in-group ties such as friends, family and ethnic group members. Only a small proportion reported that ties outside their immediate in-group network were instrumental in finding a job.

Only 3% relied on their sponsor or former employer to find a job, while a similarly small proportion (5%) enlisted the aid of government and social service agencies. Respondents were given a score of 1 if they used some form of social capital in finding a job, and a score of 0 if they did not.

**Control Variables**

Recognizing that employment quality and other material resettlement outcomes are also influenced by factors other than a refugee's potential stock of capital, the multiple regression analysis below controls for a number of additional factors. Based on previous research suggesting their potential impacts (see Chapter 2), control variables included ascribed characteristics such as sex, age, and visible minority status. Males are given a score of 1, while females are assigned a score of 0. Age was calculated using year of birth. A refugee's visible minority status was determined by categorizing former Yugoslavian and Polish immigrants as non-visible minorities (0) and Middle Eastern, East Asian, African, and Central/South American refugees as members of visible minority groups (1). Based on this categorization, over one-third of the sample is a member of a visible minority group.

Understanding that employment opportunities, income and home ownership may also be determined by place of residence, the size of sample members' current city was also considered, the assumption being that larger centres offer better and more employment opportunities than smaller cities. Cities were coded into three categories, with '1' representing a small city, '2' a mid-sized city, and '3' a large city such as Edmonton and Calgary. Almost 60% of the sample live in large cities, while 31% live in mid-sized centres and 11% live in small communities. Mobility factors such as a refugee's departure from their destined community ('1' indicating movers and '0' indicating non-movers) and plans to move from their current place of residence ('1' indicating potential movers and '0' indicating those planning to stay in their current city) are also considered as

possible determinants of employment quality, since refugees may have moved to get a better job or may believe that better employment opportunities can be found in other locations. Binary variables were constructed for both mobility variables. Three-quarters (74%) of the sample had stayed in the city to which they were destined. Under one-half of the sample (44%) reported that they were planning to move from their current city of residence.

Because of the possible trauma experienced during their refugee experience, refugees' health status may play a critical role in securing employment. Respondents were asked to judge their physical and psychological health according to a four-point scale ('very healthy', 'somewhat healthy', 'unhealthy', 'very unhealthy'). Almost two-thirds (65%) reported feeling 'very healthy'. Only a small proportion (6%) reported being 'unhealthy'/'very unhealthy'. Psychologically, self-reports indicate that just over half (57%) of the refugees were 'very healthy' upon arrival, while almost 10% reported being 'unhealthy/very unhealthy' when they arrived in Canada. Psychological and physical health scores were averaged to produce an overall health score, with higher values reflecting better health.

As noted in Chapter 2, length of residence has been identified as a key factor in employment adjustment. Therefore, length of time in Canada and length of time in current city of residence is also controlled in the regression analysis. Length of time in Canada was measured in years. Refugees in this sample arrived between 1992 and 1998. The majority of refugees (67%) arrived between 1994 and 1996. Length of time in the current city of residence was measured in months. At the time of being interviewed, about one-half (49%) had been living in their current city between 12 and 36 months (1 and 3 years), and one-third between 36 and 60 months (3 - 5 years).

Other factors that might stand in the way of satisfactory economic outcomes, such as discrimination and problems with foreign credential recognition, were

also controlled in the multiple regression analysis. Binary variables were constructed for both of these factors. One quarter of the sample had experienced some form of discrimination. A large proportion (55%) of these individuals had experienced employment discrimination specifically. A large proportion (42%) had experienced problems with foreign credential recognition including having lost or left behind credential documentation, employers or agencies not recognizing credentials, translation difficulties in interpreting credentials, and cost and time issues in having credentials assessed. Time spent in a refugee camp (measured in months) is another potential barrier to successful employment outcomes. A longer period of time spent in a refugee camp suggests that a refugee was unable to work. Approximately one-third of the sample reported spending some time in a refugee camp. Ten percent spent up to 12 months in a camp, 15% spent 13 months to 60 months (between 1 and 5 years), and a small proportion of refugees (6%) spent more than 5 years in a camp.

## C. Measuring Economic Outcomes: Quality of Employment, Annual Household Income and Home Ownership

### Quality of Employment Index

Using the same data examined in this study, Krahn et al. (2000) investigated some of the employment experiences of this group of adult refugees. A large majority (82%) held a paying job in Canada after arrival. More males than females were employed immediately following arrival (89% versus 75%, respectively), while rates of Canadian employment increased with age. Seventy-four per cent of 22 - 30 year-olds held a job at some time after settling in Canada, compared to higher rates among 31 - 40 year olds (83%) and those refugees over 40 years of age (89%). Refugees from all source regions, with the exception of those from the Middle East (64%), reported high rates of employment in Canada.

While the employment rate was generally high, and in fact, matched the proportion of those employed in their former homes, the majority of refugees (over 70%) were not satisfied with their current occupation. The fit between educational attainment and occupational status in Canada was low. Upon arrival in Canada, the largest employment discrepancy was evident among refugees formerly employed in managerial/professional positions. While 39% of the total sample were employed in professional or managerial careers in their former homes, only 7% were able to find comparable employment when they first arrived in Canada. An analysis of first jobs in Canada revealed that the vast majority of educationally-rich refugees settled for relatively lower-paying, blue-collar jobs (60%) or clerical/sales/service/technical positions (33%). In general, almost two-thirds (65%) of the total sample believed they were over-qualified for their current occupation. At the time of being interviewed, over three-quarters of the refugees who were trained in managerial or professional positions in their home country remained in jobs well below their educational training level. This was the case even for refugees who had been here for several years. Furthermore, a large proportion of the refugees (76%) had not received a promotion in their current job.

Steady employment was not common. The unemployment rate for sample members at the time of the interviews was 13%, double the annual average unemployment rate for Alberta in 1998 (5.7%) (Statistics Canada, 1999). At the time of being interviewed, the oldest refugees had the highest rate of unemployment (18%) compared to all age groups. Middle Eastern refugees had the highest rate of unemployment (17%). Non-standard employment also added to the generally low quality of employment in this adult sample. Only one-half (47%) of the adult sample were employed in permanent positions. Similarly, only one-half (50%) were employed in full time jobs.

Six main dimensions were included in the quality of employment index developed for this study (see Appendix A2). *Current occupational status*

measures whether refugees are employed in professional/managerial occupations or in other occupations. Professional and managerial occupations are considered higher in status than non-professional positions because of various objective indicators. Namely, such occupations are more likely to offer higher income levels, greater benefits, a greater chance of permanent, long-term employment, and greater opportunities for career advancement. Refugees' employment quality was also determined by considering the following related factors: *full time/part time status* (one part-time or several part-time jobs); *temporary* (has a specific end date) *or permanent status; promotion status,* (whether or not a refugee has been given a promotion(s) at their current place of employment); and *over-qualification* (whether or not refugees consider themselves to be overqualified for their current job.

A sixth measure of employment quality, *employment satisfaction,* was also included. Two indicators were used to construct this variable - current occupation and the occupation the refugee hoped to have in five years. If refugees reported that the job they hoped to have in five years was different from what they currently had, they were given a score of 0, indicating dissatisfaction with their current job.[11]

To measure the overall quality of their current employment values of '0' or '1' were assigned for each of the six variables listed above. Refugees could score a maximum of six points if they had a professional, full-time position, a permanent job, had received promotion(s) at their current place of employment, did not consider themselves over-qualified, and were generally satisfied with their current position. Conversely, refugees were given a score of 0 if they were employed in a non-professional, part-time, temporary position, with no promotional opportunities

[11] Refugees were considered to be dissatisfied with their current position even if the job they hoped to have in five years was of lower quality. It cannot be assumed that refugees invariably seek high paying, professional positions. Instead, it may be the case that some refugees place a greater priority on other aspects of life and prefer the flexibility that lower-status positions may offer. Thus,

and low job satisfaction. Those refugees who were currently unemployed (out of work and looking for a job) were considered to have the lowest quality of employment and are given a total score of zero. In total, just under one-half (47%) of the refugees were categorized on the poor end of the employment quality scale (scoring 0 - 2 points). Twenty-seven percent of the sample reported moderate levels of employment quality (scoring 3 - 4 points), while a significant minority (7%) reported a high quality of employment. The remaining 19% of the population were out of the labour force (currently not looking for a job) or were retired, and were not included in the multiple regression analysis.

**Current Annual Household Income**

The second dependent variable measuring economic integration is annual household income. This variable is based on responses to the following question: "In total, counting everyone who lives with you, what would you say is the total yearly income (employment income, transfer payments, pensions) before taxes and deductions, for this household?" Respondents were asked to select from 10 categories ranging from a low of below $10, 000 to a high of $100, 000 or more. It could be argued that individual, rather than household income, should be the dependent variable, as it is in most traditional studies of the impacts of human capital. However, a measure of individual income was not available in the data set. Furthermore, since the emphasis in this study is on social capital, a commodity that could be viewed as describing a household as well as an individual, the use of total household income as the dependent variable could be seen as most appropriate.

A profile of refugees' annual household income reveals they are not high income earners. Eight percent of the total sample had an income less than $10, 000 and over one-half (55%) received between $10, 000 and $29, 999 per year. In the

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respondents were given one point only if the job that they hoped to have in five years was the same as what they currently had.

major metropolitan centres across Alberta, this would position a significant portion of the sample at or below the low-income cut-off line (Statistics Canada, 1996). Another one-fifth of the sample earned between $30, 000 and $49, 999 annually, and only a small minority (13%) of the total sample reported total household income over $50, 000. Annual household income figures do not differ significantly by gender, as we would expect. However, there are significant age variations. Compared to the middle-aged groups, the youngest (14%) and oldest refugees (12%) were more likely to report annual household incomes below $10, 000. Part-time employment and the process of obtaining education/training may account for the lower incomes of the youngest refugees, while higher rates of retirement and the inability to 'cash in' on their previous training and work experience is the probable cause of lower income levels among the oldest age group. In contrast, refugees between 31 and 50 years were more likely to be employed in professional/managerial, and subsequently, higher paying positions.

**Current Home Ownership Status**

Responses to one survey question measuring residential status were also used as a dependent variable: "Do you rent or own this dwelling *(house or apartment)*?" Home owners received a score of '1', while renters received a score of '0'. Given the relatively low income levels in this sample, few refugees were able to purchase their own home. Instead, just under three-quarters (74%) rented either an apartment or a house. While no significant gender differences are apparent, age patterns show that the youngest refugees were least likely to own a home (18%). In contrast, over 30% of refugees between 41-50 years of age owned homes. Given the lower occupational, and hence, income levels of the youngest cohort (22-30 years), it is not surprising that they are financially ill-equipped to purchase their own homes. In contrast, middle aged refugees have higher status occupations with a higher accompanying income, and thus, have more economic capital to buy a home.

**D. Multiple Regression Analysis: The Impacts of Potential Human and Social Capital on Quality of Employment, Annual Household Income and Home Ownership**

The following multiple regression analysis focuses on the impact of potential forms of social and human capital on the economic integration of this sample of adult refugees. Economic integration of refugees is examined on three main dimensions: quality of employment, annual household income, and home ownership status. In addition to measuring the impact of forms of capital on economic integration, a range of additional variables are statistically controlled in order to uncover the relative strength of potential capital on these three dimensions of economic integration.

## QUALITY OF EMPLOYMENT

*The Impact of Human Capital on Quality of Employment*

Traditional applications of human capital theory would single out one's occupational history and educational attainment as having the greatest impact on the quality of one's current employment status (Krahn & Lowe, 1998). However, when considering a refugee's former educational attainment (Beta=.003) and former occupational status (Beta=.002), these two variables account for virtually none of the variation in quality of employment ($R^2$ = .001) (see top panel of Table 5-2).

Furthermore, in adapting human capital theory to the case of refugees, we should expect that higher education, a high status occupation in one's former home, fewer hours required for English language training, and additional training obtained in Canada should result in a higher quality of employment. However, when considered collectively, these four human capital variables still predict a very small proportion of the total variance in refugees' quality of

employment ($R^2$ = .05) (see bottom panel of Table 5-2). These findings suggest that refugees' success in the Canadian labour market is *not* determined by their prior education or work experience, or by additional human capital acquired in Canada.

How do refugees' human *and* social capital potential, and additional control variables impact upon a refugee's quality of employment? Table 5-3 shows that, when considering the combined impact of all forms of capital and control variables on quality of employment, we can account for approximately 22% of the variation in the dependent variable.

In terms of human capital, the impacts of former occupation and education remain non-significant when these variables are entered into the larger regression equation. Table 5-3 reveals that a refugee's former education (Beta= -.05) and occupation (Beta=.08) play inconsequential roles for a refugee in the Canadian labour market. Consistent with these findings, it is also true that as refugees experience greater difficulty in having their foreign credentials recognized, their quality of employment decreases significantly (Beta = -.10*). Thus, gaining recognition for foreign credentials is a major barrier for refugees in their attempt to secure employment comparable to their former careers.

Moreover, the problem of foreign accreditation may not be rectified by additional training or education in Canada. Surprisingly, the regression results reveal that as refugees obtain more months of training/education, their quality of employment decreases (Beta = -.10*). At first thought, this seems unlikely. However, this finding may simply reflect the fact that as refugees invest time in training, the process of accessing higher status employment opportunities is postponed and worthy opportunities may be missed. This time investment factor may also help explain the impact of the hours invested in English language training. Table 5-3 shows that as refugees report more hours of English language training, their quality of employment drops significantly (Beta = -.20**). In

addition to possibly reflecting a lower proficiency in English and hence, acting as a barrier to finding high quality employment, it is also likely that the more hours a refugee needs to invest in English language training, the less time he/she has to be exposed to networks which may open the doors to advanced career opportunities. A longitudinal survey examining long term employment outcomes may reveal whether human capital investment pays off over time.

Experiences of discrimination also interfere with positive employment outcomes (Beta = -.11*). Visible minority refugees (24%) in the sample are more likely than other refugees (9%) to report instances of employment discrimination, . suggesting that racial discrimination may play a role in negatively affecting employment outcomes. As discussed in Chapter Two, the impact of subtle forms of discrimination and systemic barriers, such as labour market shelters and institutionalized downward mobility, may be at play as well.

Up to this point, the discussion of the regression analysis has highlighted three critical findings about human capital. First, former education and employment have little, if any, impact in securing meaningful and stable employment for refugees in Canada. This outcome is particularly true for refugees who had high status positions (i.e., professional/managerial) in their former homes. The former education and employment of these refugees is virtually worthless, and at most, qualifies them to pursue additional education in Canada. However, as the results suggest, this does not guarantee them entrance into their chosen fields. Second, structural barriers such as discrimination and time invested in English language instruction and other training may postpone positive employment outcomes. These findings lead to the conclusion that a refugee's own personal resources (or human capital) appears to be either lacking or insufficient (due to structural barriers) as they struggle to gain employment comparable to what they had in their former home. But what happens to a refugee's quality of employment when they reach beyond their own personal stock of human capital and receive aid

from the network ties surrounding them? Can a refugee's stock of social capital compensate for the lack of *capital power* inherent in their human capital?

*The Impact of Network Ties on Quality of Employment*

Of all the forms of capital considered, a refugee's network structure shows the greatest impact on quality of employment. The largest positive impact comes from living with a spouse/partner. Table 5-3 shows that refugees who live with their spouse or partner are more likely than those who do not to have a higher quality of employment (Beta=.20**)[12].

Perhaps the best explanation of this finding lies in examining not what refugees have *but what they lack.* Without a working spouse in the household, refugees may not have the flexibility to search for high quality employment opportunities, being forced instead to accept the first job that is available. That is, living with a spouse may offer more financial support, and the time to pursue a variety of employment options. It may expose refugees to their spouse's network ties, some of whom may help refugees in finding employment. It may also be the case that the single refugees in the sample may be in the process of pursuing an advanced education and are financially supporting their schooling with part-time or full-time lower status positions.

Whereas living with a spouse may offer opportunities to enhance one's quality of employment, the *presence* of other family ties may produce the opposite effect. Table 5-3 shows that living close to parents, siblings or adult children and the presence of children in the household tend to lower a refugee's quality of employment (Beta= -.12*). In fact, there may be a possible interaction effect between gender, proximity to family ties and quality of employment. For women, in particular, living close to family members may constrain them from

[12] A test for interactions involving gender did not reveal significant effects. That is, the quality of employment was higher for both men and women living with a spouse or partner.

achieving a high quality of employment as childcare or extended kin care, traditionally a female role, may take precedence over pursuing a high status career. To test for the possibility of gender-based interaction effects, regression analyses employing the same independent variables used to predict employment quality were conducted separately for males and females. The regression analyses reveal a noticeable difference between males and females when considering, in particular, the presence of children under 5 years in the household. That is, the presence of very young children in the home reduces the quality of employment more so for refugee women (B = -.512, p=.05) than for refugee men (B = -.16; p=.58)[13]. This finding is supported by Canadian research which shows that mothers with preschoolers are more likely than mothers with older children to engage in part-time work with irregular schedules, and show significantly lower labour force participation rates (Eshleman & Wilson, 1997).

The positive impact of a refugee's network structure is also strongly evident when controlling for contacts that are self-reported by refugees as having a *direct* influence in helping them find a job. That is, refugees who used some form of network tie, particularly friends and family, to find a job were more likely to have a higher quality of employment (Beta=.17**) than those individuals who relied strictly on their own human capital (work experience, education and training) and/or their own personal efforts (applying for jobs, dropping off resumes, consulting the internet/Yellowpages, etc.) to secure employment.

Despite these significant impacts of social capital, however, one cannot ignore the evidence that a refugee's quality of employment in Canada is still below the quality enjoyed in one's former home. Refugees remain largely under-employed in Canada relative to their previous employment status, this being the case

[13] While the effect of having young children in the household was stronger for women, this interaction effect was not statistically significant. Perhaps, more refined measures are required, such

particularly for those refugees whose prior occupations were in the professional/managerial sector. As mentioned above, at the time of being interviewed, over three-quarters of the refugees who had professional/managerial careers in their former home remained in jobs below this occupational level in Canada. Thus, network ties, particularly in-group ties, may be helpful in locating employment for refugees, but they cannot fully restore refugees' previous occupational status. Thus, not only is a refugee's human capital upon arrival under-valued and under-used, but the networks they are presently employing may not be sufficient to compensate for their downward occupational mobility caused by systemic barriers in the broader society.

*The Impact of Control Variables on Quality of Employment*

As predicted in previous research, gender, age and visible minority status also contribute to a refugee's quality of employment. However, they do so to a lesser degree than do particular forms of social capital. Regarding gender differences, refugee men are more likely than refugee women to have a higher quality of employment (Beta=.10*), reflecting the broader literature on gendered inequalities in the workplace (Krahn & Lowe, 1998). The effect of age is more apparent; younger refugees experience a significantly higher quality of employment (Beta= -.15*). Because refugees' former occupations are devalued in Canada, older refugees cannot benefit from their accumulated years of work experience, a human capital advantage which other Canadians use to advance in their careers. Indeed, the oldest refugees (51 years and older) were more likely than their younger counterparts to claim that they were over-qualified for their positions. In addition, none were represented in professional/managerial careers, proportionately fewer benefited from promotions, and fewer had full-time employment.

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as directly asking refugees about the barriers to better employment outcomes that are created by the presence of very young children in the household.

A refugee's visible minority status also strongly impacts on employment quality; visible minority refugees are significantly more likely to experience a lower quality of employment (Beta= -.14*). It is possible that forms of discrimination were operating to reduce visible minority refugees' quality of employment. Thus, while the regression analysis controlled for perceptions of discrimination, this variable may not have accounted for the full range of covert, systemic and overt forms of discrimination experienced by refugees.

Beyond these ascribed characteristics, one additional control variable has a significant impact on quality of employment. That is, the longer a refugee has lived in their current city of residence, the higher their quality of employment (Beta=.21*). This finding suggests that residential stability may increase opportunities to broaden the range of network ties instrumental in employment adjustment and advancement in Canada.

## ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Higher and stable annual income is another indicator of successful economic integration for refugees. As with employment outcomes, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to test the impact of different forms of capital on annual household income. However, before isolating the potential influence of capital, we should note that, of all possible impacts, a refugee's *quality of employment* should have a significant effect on income levels. This impact would be most obvious for individual income. However, in this study, one would expect to find that the higher the quality of one's employment, the higher the accompanying household income.[14]

[14] If the data set contained information on the quality of employment of other household members, it would be possible to explain even more of the variation in total household income.

A test of zero-order correlations was conducted as the first step in confirming this hypothesis. As expected, column three in Table 5-4 shows a strong positive association between a refugee's quality of employment and household income (r = .384; p=.000). In fact, employment quality has the highest zero-order correlation of all other predictor variables considered. Given this strong correlation, does employment quality supersede the effects of capital and other predictor variables in determining income levels?

To answer this question, a two-step multiple regression analysis was required (Table 5-4). In the first stage of analysis (column one), only the effects on income of forms of capital and control variables were considered. In the second stage (column two), the quality of employment index, this time functioning as an independent variable, was inserted into the equation.[15] When the quality of employment index is excluded, 37% of the variance in household income is explained. However, when the index is entered into the equation, almost one-half (46%) of the variance is explained. Thus, as a single component of the total equation (column 2), quality of employment is a significant factor in predicting a refugee's annual income levels (Beta = .26**). Given this impact, how do forms of capital fit into the picture? A substantial quantity of the variance can be accounted for even when the quality of employment index is omitted from the equation (column 1). Thus, it is important to consider how forms of capital influence income levels when quality of employment and other predictor variables are controlled.

*The Impact of Human Capital on Household Income*

Like its impact on quality of employment, one's occupation in the former home does not influence current annual income for refugees, further supporting the assertion that a refugee's former occupation has little to do with economic

[15] Column three in Table 5-4 presents zero-order correlations between income and each of the independent variables.

integration in Canada. Columns one and two of Table 5-4 show that with (Beta= -.05) or without (Beta= -.05) the employment quality index, the impact of one's former occupation on current income is negligible. The number of hours spent on English language training also produces the same effect on income levels (Table 5-4) as it does on the quality of employment (Table 5-3). When omitting the influence of employment quality, Table 5-4 shows the distinctly negative impact of English language status; the greater the number of hours of English language training, the lower the reported levels of annual household income (Beta= -.28**). Column two of Table 5-4 shows that when controlling on the employment quality index, the English language status effect is reduced slightly but still remains strong (Beta = -.21**). These results are consistent with the explanation that the time it takes to learn English functions as a barrier to achieving better employment which, in turn, has a subsequent downward impact on earnings and overall household income levels.

Interestingly, unlike its non-existent impact on employment quality, education in one's former home has a small significant effect on annual household income levels. That is, column one of Table 5-4 shows that the higher the level of education obtained in one's former home, the higher the level of reported annual household income (Beta = .13*). In fact, column two shows that this impact increases slightly with the inclusion of the employment quality index (Beta = .17**). This is an unexpected finding. Perhaps, the positive effect of education indicates that refugees with higher levels of education upon arrival may aspire to achieve comparable levels in Canada, and hence aim for and receive higher paying employment. It should be noted, however, that higher income levels do not necessarily translate into a high quality of employment. As indicated in the previous section, subsequent education/training in Canada does not necessarily lead to desirable employment outcomes, such as job satisfaction and permanent, full-time employment with the possibility of promotions. Nor does higher income suggest that refugees were able to access employment opportunities that match their level of employment in their former home. This is particularly the

case for refugees previously employed in professional/managerial positions. Nevertheless, these findings suggest that within the range of lower status jobs open to refugees, those who are better educated may earn slightly higher incomes. Further research is needed to explain this curious finding.

*The Impact of Network Ties on Household Income*

In general, the inclusion of the quality of employment index in the regression equation does not undermine the influence of social capital on annual household income levels. Regardless of employment quality, contact with familial and extra-familial ties affect household income levels. Family ties (compared to ties outside the family) have a considerably greater impact on household income. However, column one shows that extra-familial ties have a small negative but non-significant impact on household annual household income levels (Beta = -.06). Column two reveals that this impact intensifies slightly and becomes statistically significant with the inclusion of the quality of employment index (Beta = -.09*). An immediate explanation of this negative effect is not apparent.

The impact of familial ties is substantially greater, and similar to the pattern for employment outcomes, the impact depends on the type of family member. While proximity to close family members (i.e., dependent children living in the household, and siblings, adult children and parents living in the same city) has essentially no impact on annual household income, the power of social capital becomes clearly evident when considering one's marital status. Column one of Table 5-4 shows that when omitting the employment quality index, annual household income levels show a significant increase if a refugee is living with one's spouse or partner (Beta = .23**). This significant effect remains even when the employment index is introduced into the regression equation (Beta = .23**). Controlling for all relevant variables, the impact of this type of network tie highlights the importance of dual-income families with both spouses/partners contributing to the household economy.

On the other hand, children in the home are probably dependents, contributing little to household income. The same might apply to extended family members directly surrounding one's household network. This is not to suggest, however, that one's extended family network may not be instrumental in providing financial assistance. As is demonstrated in the next section regarding home ownership, the flow of financial capital between nuclear family units within a broader extended family network is beneficial, as family members attempt to assist one another in the process of residential adjustment.

*The Impact of Control Variables on Household Income*

In addition to the strong influence of particular forms of capital, a number of control variables show equally solid impacts. Annual household income is dependent, in part, upon age. Column one of Table 5-4 shows that younger refugees are more likely to report higher annual household income levels (Beta= -.11*). The standardized regression coefficient increases with the inclusion of the quality of employment index (Beta = -.15*) suggesting that younger refugees have gained greater opportunities to advance in their careers, with greater opportunities for increased income. Older refugees may be preparing for retirement and may be less interested in career advancement. They may also face age discrimination in the Canadian labour market.

Visible minority status also has a strong and significant impact on reported household income levels. As seen in column one, visible minority refugees are significantly more likely than other refugees to report lower levels of annual household income (Beta = -.26**). This impact is slightly reduced when including the quality of employment index, but remains significant (Beta = -.22**). Since the regression equation controls on many forms of capital, this finding cannot mean that visible minority refugees are less valuable potential employees. Instead, it suggests some form of discrimination. In short, visible

minorities are more likely to have a lower quality of employment compared to other refugees and therefore, are more likely to report lower levels of annual household income.

Length of residence and mobility patterns also appear to significantly affect income levels. The longer a refugee has been in Canada, the higher the annual household income (Beta =.20*). This effect increases slightly with the inclusion of the quality of employment index (Beta = .23*). In addition, the longer refugees have lived in their current city of residence, the higher the reported income levels (Beta =.22*). This effect is weakened somewhat when the quality of employment index is included in the regression equation (Beta =.15). However, at the very least, this finding suggests that as a result of living in the same city for an extended period, refugees likely had the opportunity to develop ties, find employment and improve their income levels.

Furthermore, refugees are more likely to report higher levels of income if they have moved around in Canada (Beta = .14*). This finding suggests that refugees may have moved to a different location because they found better employment opportunities, and greater accompanying income.

## HOME OWNERSHIP

As discussed in Chapter Two, the ability to purchase a home not only indicates the power of a refugee's financial status, but also represents a significant move toward re-establishing a sense of permanence and *ontological security* in the new environment.

Given that quality of employment had a strong impact on income levels, it is likely that owning one's home would be directly related to one's income level and indirectly related to quality of employment. Zero-order correlations support

this hypothesized causal relationship. The last column of Table 5-5 reveals that the relationship between the quality of employment and home ownership is strong and statistically significant (r = .181*). Even stronger is the relationship between home ownership and income (r = .401**). Considering this, a similar impact was expected in a multiple regression analysis where home ownership is the dependent variable.

The same two-step regression strategy used for annual household income was employed for home ownership[16]. That is, the quality of employment index and annual household income were selected as the two main determining factors to be excluded and then included in the two-step procedure. Table 5-5 shows that only income has a relatively strong impact on home ownership. The inclusion of this factor, in particular, raises the total variance explained from 21% (when the two factors were excluded) to 26% (including both factors). However, consistent with the analyses of the quality of employment and household income, particular forms of capital and various control variables also significantly influence whether or not a refugee owns a home.

*The Impact of Human Capital on Home Ownership*

Beginning with the impact of human capital, Table 5-5 shows the recurring constraint of one factor in particular -- the number of hours spent on English language training. This factor has persistently established its negative impact on all three measures of economic integration. Regarding home ownership, column one of Table 5-5 shows that the greater number of ESL training hours a refugee receives, the less likely a refugee will own a home (Beta = -.18**). Thus, as seen with the previous economic outcomes (i.e. employment and income), English language training functions as a human capital deficit. It is likely that

[16] Technically, a logit or probit analysis would be more appropriate, given the use of a binary dependent variable. However, to maintain consistency with the previous analyses, ordinary least

the impact of an English language deficit is first reflected in lower employment outcomes and has a spillover effect on income and, consequently, the ability to purchase one's own home. Thus, the impact of English language training decreases with the inclusion of the income and quality of employment variables (Beta = -.09*).

Up to this point, only the factors that show a barrier to or no influence on home ownership have been discussed. What about the influence of social capital? What role does a refugee's network structure play in helping refugee's purchase their own homes?

*Social Capital and its Relationship with Length of Residence*

Of all the factors other than income, social capital plays one of the most influential roles in home ownership. Among all the forms of social capital, proximity to close family members plays the greatest role (Beta = .18**). When excluding income and employment status in the regression equation, only length of time in Canada has a larger positive impact (Beta = .26**). Column one in Table 5-5 reveals that living with a spouse/partner (Beta = .14**) also increases the chances of owning a home. When income and the quality of employment index are included in the equation, the impact of 'proximity to family ties' remains strong (Beta = .17**), while the effect of living with a spouse/partner declines somewhat (Beta = .08).

Having dependent children in the home may necessitate purchasing a home over renting an apartment with comparatively limited space. Moreover, these findings suggest the advantage of being embedded in a larger familial network. Living with a spouse or partner and with or near other extended family members may be particularly instrumental in providing essential information about adequate

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squares regression (OLS) was used. Additional analyses using logit regression techniques led to essentially the same conclusions.

and affordable housing. The pooling of family financial resources is also a likely scenario, thereby enabling individual family units within a broader familial network to purchase their own homes. Given the expenses incurred by additional education and training needed in Canada and the subsequent barriers in the labour market, it is no surprise that refugees may turn to the option of pooling financial resources in their own familial network to purchase a home, rather than relying on their own individual income potentials.[17]

As mentioned above, length of residence also plays a key role in determining home ownership. Column one in Table 5-5 shows that the longer refugees have lived in Canada, the more likely they are to own a home (Beta =.26**), suggesting that length of residence enables refugees to accumulate enough economic capital to acquire property. This economic capital could be gained potentially from one's personal or one's spouses income (i.e., employment income). Or, as suggested above, a longer period of residence in Canada may have enabled refugees to establish a family network wherein financial resources may be pooled and distributed.[18] With the introduction of income and the employment quality index in the regression equation, column two of Table 5-5 shows that the positive effect of length of time in Canada is slightly reduced (Beta = .17). However, column two also shows that if refugees have lived in only one city in Canada, they are significantly more likely to own a home ('moved in Canada', Beta = -.14*). This finding demonstrates the positive influence of residential stability on the pooling of familial financial resources and/or the accumulation of personal income. It may also reflect refugees' increased knowledge of the local housing market as well as greater satisfaction with the community.

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[17] The impact of living with a spouse is reduced with the inclusion of the quality of employment and income variables. Again, this likely reflects the relatively stronger direct determining force of income and the pooling of resources from other family members.

## E. Conclusions

This chapter examined refugees' economic integration in Canada, focusing specifically on their quality of employment, annual household income and home ownership. Taking into account their former employment and education, current English language status, and training/education obtained in Canada (or potential human capital), this chapter employed a multiple regression strategy to examine the relative worth of network ties (potential social capital) in refugees' economic adjustment.

### The Impact of Human Capital on Economic Outcomes

Traditional applications of human capital theory which emphasize the value of occupation and education as major determinants of subsequent employment success are challenged by this analysis. Being a refugee represents a unique status in Canadian society. It effectively denies these newcomers the opportunity to use their former education and occupation as valuable forms of human capital. Different forms of discrimination and the rules governing foreign credential recognition may place limits on individual agency as refugees attempt to pursue high quality employment in the face of these larger structural barriers. Furthermore, although additional training is needed, the time invested in English language and other training postpones the process of pursuing career advancement opportunities and gaining higher earnings, and ultimately, reduces the ability to purchase a new home. A longitudinal analysis could examine the effects of human capital investment over time. However, due to the impact of larger societal constraints impeding refugees' employment outcomes, it is unlikely that there is a direct and positive link between human capital investment and employment success. As other researchers have noted, this

[18] An examination of the zero-order correlation confirms a statistically significant, positive relationship between year arrived in Canada and proximity to close family members. As length of time in Canada increases, proximity to close family ties also increases ($r = .092$; $p=.036$).

suggests that human capital investment alone does not ensure economic success (Schuller, 2001).

**The Impact of Network Ties on Economic Outcomes**

This analysis demonstrates how refugees call upon various network ties to aid them in their employment adjustment and to compensate for the low value of their human capital. Regarding family ties, living with a spouse or a partner may allow refugees greater flexibility in pursuing educational and employment opportunities and may offer refugees access to their spouses/partners' network base. Furthermore, living with a spouse or partner has a strong positive effect on household income levels, suggesting the presence of dual income families with both spouses/partners contributing to the household economy. Thus, despite the relatively strong power of a refugee's quality of employment on income levels, much of the determining force comes from this form of social capital. In *capital power* terms, then, living with a spouse/partner can be viewed as a social capital advantage which generates financial support and an increase in one's network structure. Furthermore, refugees who chose to enlist the aid of familiar and trusted in-group ties, such as family and friends, reported a higher quality of employment than those who relied strictly on their own human capital or personal efforts. Proximity to close family ties was also demonstrated as a social capital advantage, particularly as it affects home ownership. Family ties may enable refugees to access information about housing or financial assistance to purchase a home.

However, contrary to the favorable benefits that social capital can offer, what this research also reveals is the limited value of certain network ties. When considering the quality of a refugee's current employment and income status, the results suggest that even if family and ethnic group ties can aid refugees in their economic adjustment, these forms of social capital may not be able to compensate for refugees' downward occupational mobility and comparatively

lower income levels. This is particularly the case for refugees who were previously employed in professional or managerial positions. Ethnic group and family ties do not have the *capital power* to overcome societal restrictions such as regulations regarding foreign credential recognition or institutionalized downward mobility. Functioning mainly as 'strategies for survival' (Gold & Kibria, 1993), ethnic group networks are limited in their use, particularly if these in-group ties have inadequate access to resettlement services and limited knowledge about career development and advancement opportunities. As Gold & Kibria (1993: 36) observe about in-group community support for Vietnamese refugees, "there is little to suggest that community involvements yield upward mobility". In the case of the current sample of refugees, the value of their in-group ties are limited by their inability to challenge the external structural barriers that prevent refugees from obtaining employment and income commensurate with their former career and income status.

Furthermore, these results caution that tie relations may, in some situations, actually constrain a refugee's quality of employment. Female refugees, in particular, may be at a *social capital* disadvantage as proximity to close family members may be indicative of family care responsibilities, thereby limiting refugee women in their employment advancement.

**The Impact of Control Variables on Economic Outcomes**

In addition to the strong impacts of capital on resettlement outcomes, several additional ascribed characteristics play critical roles in determining economic outcomes. Along with the gender differences mentioned above, age has considerable influence on employment outcomes and income levels. Younger refugees have comparatively better employment outcomes and income levels than do their older counterparts. Furthermore, income and employment are racialized; visible minority refugees are less likely than their non-visible minority counterparts to have better jobs and comparatively higher annual

household income levels. In a sense, being female, a members of a visible minority group and older can be interpreted theoretically as human capital deficits within a structural context which favors young, white males.

Additional factors such as length of residence in Canada also affect economic resettlement outcomes in a fairly predictable fashion. The chances of broadening one's network structure increases as refugees live for a longer time in Canada, and particularly in their current city of residence. The range of ties developed over a period of time may aid refugees in establishing a higher quality of employment and increase opportunities to purchase a home. However, as noted above, employment opportunities developed via forms of social capital over time may still be unable to compensate for a refugee's loss in occupational and income status.

## TABLE 5-1a: METHODS OF FINDING CURRENT JOB: NETWORK TIES (SOCIAL CAPITAL) VERSUS OTHER METHODS*

| | SELF | SOCIAL CAPITAL | HUMAN CAPITAL | OTHER | Not Employed/ Not Applicable/ No Response | (N) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **TOTAL Refugee Population** | **24%** | **34%** | **5%** | **1%** | **36%** | **525** |
| **Sex** | | | | | | |
| Female | 21% | 30% | 6% | 1% | 42% | **265** |
| Male | 27% | 38% | 4% | 2% | 30% | **260** |
| **Age** | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 28% | 36% | 5% | 1% | 31% | **148** |
| 31-40 years | 27% | 33% | 6% | 2% | 33% | **233** |
| 41-50 years | 20% | 36% | 5% | 1% | 39% | **101** |
| 51 years and older | 2% | 30% | 5% | 2% | 61% | **43** |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | |
| Africa | 3% | 35% | 6% | 0% | 29% | **34** |
| Central/South America | 29% | 41% | 10% | 0% | 20% | **49** |
| East Asia | 25% | 38% | 6% | 0% | 38% | **16** |
| Former Yugoslavia | 27% | 31% | 5% | 2% | 32% | **329** |
| Middle East | 9% | 31% | 5% | 0% | 56% | **88** |
| Poland | 0% | 33% | 0% | 0% | 67% | **9** |
| **Total n** | **125** | **178** | **28** | **7** | **187** | **525** |

*"Self" includes applying for a job(s), responding to advertisements and self-employed. "Human Capital" includes training, job placement or work experience. See Table 5-1b for more detailed social capital resources.

## TABLE 5-1b: SOCIAL CAPITAL METHODS OF FINDING CURRENT JOB*

| | Friends/Family/ Ethnic Group Members | Sponsor/ Former Employer | Government and Social Service Agencies | Other Networking | Other Methods (Self and Human Capital) | Not Applicable/ No Response | (N) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **TOTAL Refugee Population** | **26%** | **3%** | **5%** | **0.4%** | **31%** | **36%** | **525** |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | |
| Female | 24% | 3% | 4% | 0% | 28% | 42% | **265** |
| Male | 27% | 3% | 7% | 1% | 33% | 30% | **260** |
| **Age** | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 29% | 2% | 5% | 0% | 33% | 31% | **148** |
| 31-40 years | 21% | 3% | 8% | 9% | 35% | 33% | **233** |
| 41-50 years | 30% | 4% | 2% | 0% | 26% | 39% | **101** |
| 51 years and older | 28% | 0% | 2% | 0% | 9% | 61% | **43** |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 18% | 0% | 18% | 0% | 9% | 29% | **34** |
| Central/South America | 31% | 2% | 8% | 0% | 39% | 20% | **49** |
| East Asia | 31% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 31% | 38% | **16** |
| Former Yugoslavia | 26% | 3% | 4% | 1% | 34% | 32% | **329** |
| Middle East | 22% | 5% | 5% | 0% | 14% | 56% | **88** |
| Poland | 33% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 67% | **9** |
| **Total n** | **134** | **14** | **28** | **2** | **160** | **187** | **525** |

*This table disaggregates the 'social capital' category in Table 5-1a.

## TABLE 5-2: THE IMPACT OF HUMAN CAPITAL ON QUALITY OF EMPLOYMENT

| | Independent Variables | Beta | Significance | r with Quality of Employment |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **HUMAN CAPITAL** | | | | |
| | Occupation in Former Home | .002 | .978 | .003 |
| | Education in Former Home | .003 | .958 | .004 |
| | | $R^2 = .001$ | | |
| | Occupation in Former Home | -.006 | .911 | .003 |
| | Education in Former Home | .019 | .739 | .004 |
| | English Language Status: # of Hours of ESL/LINC Training | -.234** | .000 | .21** |
| | Months of Education/Training in Canada | -.114* | .026 | -.054 |
| | | $R^2 = .053$ | | |

## Table 5-3: The Impact of Potential Capital and Control Variables on Quality of Employment

| | Independent Variables | Beta | Significance | r with Quality of Employment |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Human Capital** | Occupation in Former Home | .08 | .155 | .003 |
| | Education in Former Home | -.05 | .400 | .004 |
| | English Language Training Hours | -.20** | .000 | .21** |
| | Months of Training/Education in Canada | -.10* | .041 | -.054 |
| **Social Capital** | Proximity to Close Family Members | -.12* | .021 | .208** |
| | Living With Spouse/Partner | .20** | .000 | .004 |
| | Presence of Extra-Familial Ties | .06 | .204 | .11* |
| | Familial and Extra-Familial Aid in Finding a Job | .17** | .000 | .148** |
| **Control Variables** | Sex (Male = 1) | .10* | .039 | .116* |
| | Age | -.15* | .009 | .014 |
| | Visible Minority Status (Yes = 1) | -.14** | .012 | -.008 |
| | Time Spent in Refugee Camp | -.01 | .849 | -.041 |
| | Length of Time in Canada | -.04 | .658 | .091 |
| | Moved in Canada | .07 | .223 | .038 |
| | How Long Lived in Current City | .21* | .040 | .108* |
| | City Size | -.05 | .286 | -.066 |
| | Potential Mover | -.06 | .219 | -.085 |
| | Difficulty with Credential Recognition | -.10* | .059 | -.094* |
| | Experiences of Discrimination | -.11 | .039 | -.165* |
| | Physical and Psychological Health Upon Arrival | -.05 | .303 | .02 |
| | N = 395 | $R^2$ = .218 | | |

## Table 5-4: The Impact of Potential Capital and Control Variables on Annual Household Income

| | | Excluding Quality of Employment Index | | Including Quality of Employment Index | | r with Income |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Independent Variables | Beta | Significance | Beta | Significance | |
| **Human Capital** | Occupation in Former Home | -.05 | .251 | -.05 | .319 | .10* |
| | Education in Former Home | .13* | .016 | .17** | .001 | .20** |
| | English Language Training Hours | -.28** | .000 | -.21** | .000 | -.26** |
| | Months of Training/Education in Canada | -.06 | .147 | -.05 | .265 | .07 |
| **Social Capital** | Proximity to Close Family Members | .04 | .349 | .06 | .155 | .071 |
| | Living With Spouse/Partner | .23** | .000 | .23** | .001 | .16** |
| | Presence of Extra-Familial Ties | -.06 | .097 | -.09* | .032 | .03 |
| | Familial and Extra-Familial Aid in Finding a Job | .03 | .449 | -.03 | .515 | .284** |
| **Control Variables** | Sex (Male = 1) | .03 | .497 | .01 | .702 | .012 |
| | Age | -.11 | .012 | -.15** | .002 | -.012 |
| | Visible Minority Status (Yes = 1) | -.26** | .000 | -.22** | .000 | .004 |
| | Time Spent in Refugee Camp | -.04 | .343 | -.01 | .870 | -.208** |
| | Length of Time in Canada | .20* | .014 | .23* | .005 | .329** |
| | Moved in Canada | .13* | .007 | .14* | .007 | .132** |
| | How Long Lived in Current City | .22* | .011 | .15 | .095 | .265** |
| | City Size | -.02 | .593 | .02 | .620 | -.075 |
| | Potential Mover | -.07 | .103 | -.06 | .194 | -.107* |
| | Difficulty with Credential Recognition | -.05 | .260 | -.01 | .767 | .018 |
| | Experiences of Discrimination | .05 | .235 | -.06 | .149 | .023 |
| | Physical and Psychological Health Upon Arrival | .03 | .440 | .04 | .338 | .118** |
| **Resettlement Outcomes** | Quality of Employment Index | n/a | | .26** | .000 | .384** |
| | | $R^2$ = .374 | | $R^2$ = .461 | | |
| | | N = 466 | | N = 380 | | |

## Table 5-5: The Impact of Potential Capital and Control Variables on Home Ownership

| | | Excluding Income Variable and Quality of Employment Index | | Including Income Variable and Quality of Employment Index | | r with Property Ownership |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Independent Variables | Beta | Significance | Beta | Significance | |
| **Human Capital** | Occupation in Former Home | -.01 | .928 | -.02 | .776 | .062 |
| | Education in Former Home | .03 | .580 | .07 | .313 | -.008 |
| | English Language Training Hours | -.18** | .000 | -.09 | .085 | -.176** |
| | Months of Training/Education in Canada | -.10* | .021 | -.08 | .113 | .054 |
| **Social Capital** | Proximity to Close Family Members | .18** | .000 | .17** | .001 | .136** |
| | Living With Spouse/Partner | .14** | .004 | .08 | .186 | .285** |
| | Presence of Extra-Familial Ties | .04 | .366 | .04 | .381 | .186 |
| | Familial and Extra-Familial Aid in Finding a Job | .09* | .029 | .06 | .224 | .189** |
| **Control Variables** | Sex (Male = 1) | .001 | .974 | -.01 | .854 | -.025 |
| | Age | -.04 | .430 | .05 | .424 | -.072 |
| | Visible Minority Status (Yes = 1) | -.01 | .914 | .05 | .429 | -.023 |
| | Time Spent in Refugee Camp | -.05 | .325 | -.004 | .935 | -.106* |
| | Length of Time in Canada | .26** | .003 | .17 | .076 | .236** |
| | Moved in Canada | -.20 | .069 | -.14* | .023 | -.076 |
| | How Long Lived in Current City | -.05 | .609 | -.08 | .418 | .213** |
| | City Size | .04 | .319 | .04 | .413 | .054 |
| | Potential Mover | -.06 | .199 | -.02 | .647 | -.113** |
| | Difficulty with Credential Recognition | -.02 | .613 | -.03 | .644 | -.018 |
| | Experiences of Discrimination | -.01 | .845 | -.002 | .967 | -.020 |
| | Physical and Psychological Health Upon Arrival | .04 | .408 | .02 | .741 | -.039 |
| **Resettlement Outcomes** | Annual Household Income | n/a | | .29* | .000 | .401** |
| | Quality of Employment Index | n/a | | .04 | .480 | .181** |
| | | $R^2$ = .206 | | $R^2$ = .257 | | |
| | | N= 488 | | N = 380 | | |

# CHAPTER SIX
# THE IMPACT OF POTENTIAL CAPITAL ON "FEELING LIKE A REAL CANADIAN"

## A. Introduction

From a social and cultural integration perspective, an important part of merging into Canadian society is developing and sharing a sense of belonging with other Canadians and fostering a personal sense of identification with being Canadian. As Raymond Breton (1997: 7) argues, "if the community is viewed as belonging to someone else, it is difficult to identify, even if it provides certain benefits". Furthermore, lacking a sense of self-identification as a Canadian may not only undermine successful integration, but in some cases, promote the desire to repatriate (Young, 1996).

Toward understanding if this subjective outcome had been achieved in the course of their resettlement, refugees in the sample were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "I feel like a real Canadian" (see Table 6-1). In total, one-third of the refugee sample agreed (14%) or strongly agreed (20%) that they do 'feel like a real Canadian'. This leaves a significant proportion of refugees who do not. Forty-three percent 'strongly disagreed' or 'disagreed' with this statement.

The process of building a sense of belonging and identification requires that refugees not only feel that they belong *within* Canada, but that, as Bhikhu Parekh has argued (International Metropolis Conference, 2000), an inclusive definition of identity also means that Canadian society should *belong to* refugees. The struggle to acquire this dual sense of belonging, and ultimately, to feel like a Canadian remains a complex and often frustrating process, especially for the newcomer. There is little doubt that the measurement of such a subjective

formation is a challenging task. Given the complex nature of Canadian identity and belonging, the main methodological drawback of asking a close-ended question like "Do you feel like a real Canadian?" is that it leaves too much room for interpretation. Given the limited number of response options, it becomes difficult to interpret what refugees mean by 'feeling Canadian'. That said, in the absence of more qualitative data, this chapter provides an analysis of the factors that shaped responses to this single forced-choice question.

A refugee identity involves reconciling many dimensions of one's former self with those aspects of self which emerged during the refugee experience. As discussed in Chapter Two, the refugee identity is neither fully located in the past, nor is it solely connected to a static, collective condition formulated in the present. As Liisa Malkki (1992: 37) argues, a refugee identity is "mobile and processual" and can be characterized as "...partly self-construction, partly categorization by others, partly a condition, a status, a label, a weapon, a shield, a fund of memories.... creolized aggregate". As such, the refugee is, at the same time, an individual with a unique life history, a recipient of socially-constructed refugee labels, yet one who retains an active role in the construction of his/her future identity. Given the complex nature of refugee identity, isolating the determinants contributing to a sense of Canadian identity requires an in-depth understanding of personal histories, motivations and perceptions. Thus, an open-ended interview approach would more likely generate greater insight than a close-ended question.

However, given the multiple factors which could contribute to developing a sense of identity, it becomes that much more interesting to discover if particular factors, such as forms of capital, have any impact on feeling like a Canadian (whatever that may involve). From the perspective of *capital*, feeling Canadian may depend upon a refugee's capital resources acquired prior to arrival in Canada and gained throughout the process of resettlement. How refugees choose to use their available stock of capital within a context of structural constraints

also lends insight into how refugees personally define what being a "real" Canadian is. Thus, the main question that this chapter is concerned with is: What can different forms of potential capital tell us about developing a sense of Canadian identity and belonging?

**B. The Impact of Potential Capital and Control Variables**

In *human capital* terms, it has been established that former education and occupation did not contribute to a refugee's employment success in Canada. Similarly, it is predicted that former education and occupation will not have a significant impact on feeling like a Canadian. This prediction is supported by the zero-order correlations shown in Table 6-2 which reveal that neither former education (r=.01) nor occupation (r=.09) are significantly correlated with "feeling like a real Canadian". Furthermore, English language instruction (r = -.07) and other training obtained in Canada (r = .08) show an equally weak correlation with 'feeling like a real Canadian', and thus, will likely have little impact on producing a sense of belonging and self-representation as a Canadian.

One of the underlying assumptions here is that feeling like a Canadian is a function a refugee's economic success, particularly with respect to refugees' quality of employment, income, and home ownership status. Thus, these three resettlement outcomes are also considered potentially significant independent predictors of determining a personal affiliation with Canadian society. In this sense, resources such as income and property, gained from a high quality of employment (or a form of human capital), can be interpreted as forms of economic capital produced in Canada which may have an impact on developing a sense of belonging within Canadian society. However, Table 6-2 shows that quality of employment (r = -.09), annual household income (r = .03), and home ownership (r = .03) are only very weakly correlated with 'feeling like a real Canadian'. Thus, when entered into the regression equation, these economic outcomes are unlikely to produce significant effects.

In addition to their positive effects on social and cultural integration, the substantial impact that network ties have on economic outcomes suggests that *social capital* could, on several levels, play a substantial role in instilling a sense of belonging to and affiliation with a Canadian identity. Four main independent measures of social capital are considered in the multiple regression analysis including three measures of in-group ties, *living with a spouse/partner*, *proximity to close family* (scores range from 0 to 6) and *time spent with co-ethnic friends*. The fourth measure of social capital is an index of contact with extra-familial ties, including Canadian friends outside one's ethnic group, co-workers, neighbours, sponsors/host family, and other immigrants (scores range from 0 to 5) (see Appendix A1). Of all the social capital variables considered, the presence of extra-familial ties in a refugees network shows the most significant relationship with feeling like a real Canadian. Table 6-3 reveals a moderately strong positive correlation between feeling like a real Canadian and the presence of extra-familial ties (r = .18**).

Several subjective indicators measuring the types of ties refugees believe contribute to feeling "Canadian" were also considered in the multi-variate analysis. Perhaps refugees believe that they need to make efforts to act like typical Canadians, whatever that might mean. Sample members were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "People who come to Canada should change their ways to be more like average Canadians". Just over one-third (36%) of the total sample agreed or strongly agreed with this statement (see Table 6-4).

Refugees were also asked to judge on a five-point scale how important it is to have Canadian friends and how important it is to be welcomed by Canadians on the whole (Table 6-4). For almost 90% of the sample, "making Canadian friends" is "important" or "very important" for successfully living in Canada. Furthermore, whether or not friendships are formed, 96% of all refugees believed that in order to successfully live in Canada it is 'important' or 'very

important' to be 'welcomed by the people who live here'. Related to this and closer to home, refugees were also asked to judge how friendly and welcoming people are in their current city of residence. The assumption underlying the use of this question is that refugees are more likely to feel like a Canadian if they believe they are welcome and treated in a friendly manner by people in their city. Over three-quarters (78%) of the sample "agreed" or "strongly agreed" that "the people in (name of city) are very friendly and welcoming" (see Table 6-4). Refugees were also asked to indicate how concerned they were about 'fitting in' in Canadian society? About one-quarter (22%) were not at all concerned about fitting into Canadian society, but almost one-half of all respondents (48%) stated they were 'concerned' or 'very concerned' with this form of belonging (see Table 6-4).

When these subjective mainstream integration indicators are correlated with 'feeling like a real Canadian', a number of significant relationships are apparent (Table 6-5). Moderate strength correlations exist between feeling like a Canadian and the importance placed on having Canadian friends (r =.20**), being welcomed by Canadian society (r=.12**), and refugees' perceptions of their own city's receptivity (r=.24**). Furthermore, a zero-order correlation reveals that the more refugees feel like a "real" Canadian, the more they believe that people should change their ways to become like an average Canadian (r= .19**). Thus, there is a strong likelihood that when controlling for the effects of other independent measures, feeling like a real Canadian will be dependent upon the belief in some of these subjective factors[19].

Recognizing that feeling like a Canadian is influenced by factors apart from a refugee's stock of capital, the analysis controls for a number of additional variables. Potentially significant determinants include ascribed characteristics

[19] I considered constructing an index from the subjective factors of mainstream integration listed in Table 6-3. However, a reliability test revealed that the alpha was too low (alpha = .3372, N=503) to

such as sex, age, and visible minority status (see correlation matrix, Table 6-5). Based on the zero-order correlations which show that males feel significantly more like a real Canadian than do females (r=.12**), it is predicted that when gender is considered in the multiple regression analysis, similar results will appear. This relationship may be explained by the fact that, compared to women, males have a comparatively diverse range of extra-familial networks, enabling them to develop a greater sense of belonging to and connection with a mainstream environment and identity. It is also predicted that because of the correlation between age and feeling like a Canadian (r = .10*), the multivariate regression results will show that it is older refugees who are more likely to feel like a real Canadian.

Given the greater degree of discrimination experienced by visible minority refugees, and thus, as a consequence, the greater likelihood of feeling alienated and perhaps ostracized, I predicted that visible minority refugees will have a harder time developing a Canadian identity compared to their non-visible minority counterparts. However, when examining the zero-order correlation, Table 6-5 reveals that there is a significant positive correlation (r = .16**) between being a visible minority and feeling like a real Canadian, suggesting the opposite than what was predicted (r=.16**). This unexpected effect may persist depending on how this variable interacts with others in the multiple regression analysis.

Self-reports of poor health might set back the process of identifying oneself as a Canadian. Refugees who are psychologically and physically low may be less likely to successfully participate in Canadian society and, therefore, less likely to feel like a Canadian. However, based on the weak correlation between health status and 'feeling like a real Canadian' (r = .05), this factor may not have a

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consider compiling these variables into one index. Instead, each item was entered as a separate independent variable in the regression equation.

significant impact relative to other variables in the regression equation (see Table 6-6).

Length of residence may also influence feelings of being Canadian. Thus, length of time in Canada and length of time in current city of residence are also considered as potential determinants. In this case, it is predicted that the longer the period of living in Canada, and particularly within one's current city of residence, the greater the opportunity for refugees to achieve various resettlement goals. This, in turn, would likely have an impact on refugees' sense of belonging and identification. The zero-order correlations between feeling like a real Canadian and both length of time in Canada (r=.16**) and length of time in one's current city of residence (r=.13**) support this prediction (see Table 6-6).

Size of one's current city, along with mobility factors such as a refugee's departure from their destined community and plans to move from their current place of residence, are also considered as possible determinants (see Table 6-6). City size is not correlated with feeling like a real Canadian (r=.01), so it is likely to have an equally negligible effect when entered into the regression equation. Because a longer length of residence is positively correlated with feeling like a real Canadian, it is predicted that if refugees have lived in more than one place in Canada and have plans to move from their current city of residence, they will be less satisfied with their resettlement progress and, consequently less likely to report a Canadian identity. Supporting this hypothesis, the zero-order correlation between feeling like a real Canadian and plans to move from one's current city is negative (r = -.12**), suggesting that residential stability promotes a sense of Canadian identity.

While potentially negative impacts such as discrimination, problems with foreign credential recognition, and time spent in a refugee camp are considered in the multiple regression equation, it is expected that their impacts will be non-

significant. Zero-order correlations indicate small and non-significant relationships between feeling like a real Canadian and discrimination (r = .01), foreign credential recognition problems (r = -.01), and time spent in a refugee camp (r = -.04) (see Table 6-6).

To test for the net effect of these various sets of independent measures, a three-step multiple regression analysis was conducted (see Table 6-7). Step one of the regression analysis involves measuring the impact of human capital, network ties and additional control variables on 'feeling like a real Canadian'. Step two includes the quality of employment index, annual household income, and home ownership in the regression equation to determine if one's economic adjustment contributes to any significant degree to feeling like a real Canadian. Finally, step three considers the additional impact of the various subjective measures of mainstream integration.

**C. Multiple Regression Analysis**

Table 6-7 presents the three-step regression analysis. Phase one shows the collective impact of human and social capital and a range of control variables on "feeling like a real Canadian". These predictor variables account for only 13% of the total variance. The variance explained, however, increases considerably when the three economic indicators are entered into the equation, although considered individually, each of these indicators have only a minimal impact on the dependent variable. Phase two of Table 6-7 shows that a refugee's quality of employment (Beta = -.06), annual household income (Beta = -.02) and home ownership (Beta = -.03) have very small individual impacts on feeling like a real Canadian, and remain inconsequential when the subjective factors of mainstream social integration are included in the regression equation (see column three). These findings suggest that positive economic outcomes may not play a direct role in promoting a sense of belonging in Canada, and feeling like a member of the country. However, it appears that these economic outcomes are

expressing their impact via their interactions with other independent variables, raising the total variance explained from 13% to 20%.

Phase three of Table 6-7 reveals that subjective indicators of mainstream social integration produce a further substantial increase in the total variance explained, as it climbs from 20% to 28%. The relatively strong impact of these subjective factors, particularly as they relate to forms of social capital, are discussed in detail below. First, however, the following two sections discuss the relative impacts of human and social capital, particularly as they interact with the economic resettlement outcomes (employment quality, annual household income and home ownership) and the subjective mainstream indicators. The final section explores the relative impacts of additional control variables, including the particularly strong effects of gender and visible minority status.

**The Impact of Human Capital**

Controlling on other relevant variables, refugees' stock of human capital developed prior to arrival in Canada has almost no impact on 'feeling like a real Canadian'. Phase 3 of Table 6-7 reveals that education obtained in the home country (Beta =.02) and former occupational status (Beta =.01) have inconsequential effects. Additional training in Canada, whether it was English language or other training, also did not have any substantial impact on feeling like a real Canadian.

**The Impact of Network Ties**

In-group ties, such as family members and co-ethnic friends, have little impact on "feeling like a real Canadian". When controlling for the full set of independent variables in the multiple regression equation, phase three of Table 6-7 shows that proximity to close family members (Beta = -.04), living with a

spouse/partner (Beta = .02), and time spent with co-ethnic friends (Beta = -.004) all have negligible effects.

Instead, what affects refugees more are the relationships developed outside their inner circle of ties. Refugees are more likely to feel like a Canadian if they have been exposed to a broad range of *extra-familial ties*, including Canadian friends outside their ethnic group, neighbors, host family/sponsor, co-workers and other newcomers . Phase three of Table 6-7 shows that this effect is significant when all other variables are controlled (Beta =.12*).[20]

Furthermore, as a subjective measure of the importance of extra-familial ties, phase three demonstrates that the more important refugees believe it is to have Canadian friends when settling in Canada, the more they feel like a real Canadian (Beta =.15**). The power of ties in the wider society to determine a sense of Canadian identity is also evident in the finding that if refugees believe that people in their current city of residence are welcoming and friendly, they feel more like a real Canadian (Beta =.13*). Collectively, these findings about extra-familial ties suggest that inherent to this form of social capital is *acceptance power* or the power to instill in refugees a sense of acceptance. That is, ties in the wider society, whether real or perceived, have the power to instill a sense of 'belonging *within*', thereby facilitating the process of feeling like a 'real' member of the larger society. More than this, refugees' emphasis on the power of extra-familial ties to determine a sense of Canadian identity has strong implications for how a refugee defines a 'real' Canadian.[21]

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[20] It could be argued that participation in activities outside the home could facilitate self-identification as a Canadian. However, when entered into the regression equation (where all independent variables are considered), participation in sports/recreational activities (Beta = .05), volunteer activities (Beta = -.03), leisure activities (Beta = .01), ethnic group events (Beta = .01) and place of worship attendance (Beta = .-.03) produced small and non-significant impacts. This finding suggests that the type of tie produced and the impact of that relationship is a better predictor of self-identification as a Canadian than is the activity in which the tie is developed.

[21] It should be noted that out of the five indicators of mainstream social integration, only the indicator which measured the importance of being welcomed by Canadian friends did not show a

*Defining Canadian from the Refugee Perspective: An Analysis of Mainstream Ties*

The fact that refugees with more in-group ties do not necessarily feel more like a real Canadian does not suggest that they do not value or benefit from the critical aid received from family and co-ethnic friends during resettlement. Rather, what the findings about social capital reveal is that ties outside this inner circle are more responsible for promoting a sense of connection to or belonging within a larger framework of what constitutes Canadian society. Relying on mainstream ties to define their Canadian identity suggests that refugees are attempting to align themselves with some sense of what it means to be an 'average' Canadian. Thus, included among the subjective factors of mainstream social integration is the variable which asks refugees if they believe that people should change their ways to be more like 'average' Canadians. Phase three of Table 6-7 shows that this factor functions as a significant determinant of "feeling like a real Canadian". The more refugees believe that people should conform to an average Canadian standard, the more they feel like a "real" Canadian (Beta =.14*). Phase three also reveals that the more refugees are concerned about fitting into Canadian society, the less they feel like a "real" Canadian (Beta = -.10*).

Based on these findings, what does fitting into Canadian society really mean to refugees? Given the emphasis placed on extra-familial ties, refugees may be expressing their anxiety about meeting the requirements of a perceived standard which demands citizens to "change their ways to be more like 'average' Canadians". This anxiety may be heightened particularly for immigrants and refugees who come to Canada with little knowledge of Canadians (cultural capital), and yet are expected (either a perceived or real expectation) to integrate

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substantial effect on feeling like a real Canadian. However, the zero-order correlation between the importance placed on being welcomed by Canadians and feeling like a real Canadian is significant (r=.12, p=.000).

into the economic and social domains with great speed and with little room for error.

It may be that the fewer the extra-familial ties, the more refugees are concerned about fitting in, and the less Canadian they feel. Thus, in a social integration sense, becoming a 'real' Canadian means finding Canadian friends outside one's ethnic group who can expose refugees to the 'qualities' and 'ultimate values' of the dominant society (Morrow, 1994) or in capital terms, who can enhance their stock of cultural capital which promotes a perceived or real mainstream standard. Furthermore, it may be in this sense that refugees feel they must 'fit in'. With almost one-half (48%) of the respondents concerned or very concerned about "'fitting in' in Canadian society", it is likely the case that while the intent is not necessarily to abandon their ethnic identities, refugees may feel the need to shape the social spaces in which their ethnic identity can be expressed, placing more emphasis on becoming an "average Canadian" when interacting, for example, in a mainstream environment.

A 'mainstream' environment encouraging a white, middle class, and perhaps more loosely, a traditional British standard may pressure refugees to abandon or modify their sense of ethnic identity to conform to this perceived standard. Upon arrival in Canada, refugees may believe that it is vital to adjust to this standard particularly as they interact with others in educational institutions, the workplace and public spaces. In these environments, as with most social environments, there is an unwritten form of cultural capital demanding one's attention to the "qualities... classificatory schemes, and ultimate values... defined by the dominant classes" (Morrow, 1994: 134). On the other hand, refugees may be exposed to their own ethnic community's behavioral and normative expectations, and may be required and encouraged to retain their ethno-linguistic and, perhaps, religious identities. In social reality, these two sets of expectations will likely exist side by side and intersect (not always harmoniously) as refugees move through different social circumstances and spaces requiring appropriate

cultural (and subcultural) responses. In the end, it can be concluded that refugees are defining 'Canadian' based on various perceived and real objectives. These 'Canadian' objectives or resettlement goals may indeed be positioned in social spaces which require refugees to learn the social skills, language and 'ultimate values' of the dominant society.

**The Impact of Control Variables**

Several additional variables are also significant determinants of feeling like a real Canadian. Of the ascribed characteristics considered, gender and visible minority status, but not age, influence "feeling like a real Canadian". A strong gender effect is noted, particularly when all predictor variables are considered. Phase three of Table 6-7 reveals that refugee men compared to women are significantly more likely to 'feel like a real Canadian' (Beta =.16**). In understanding this gender difference, it is important to recall that feeling like a real Canadian is significantly correlated with mainstream integration factors, such as being concerned about fitting in to the mainstream society, making Canadian friends and being welcomed by the general Canadian public. Because, as Chapter Four demonstrated, males are more likely to have greater contact with the mainstream via their personal, professional and leisure activities, they may be more likely than females to have developed a sense of feeling like a Canadian -- to the extent that 'Canadian' is defined and perceived from a mainstream perspective (i.e., the 'average' Canadian).

Another ascribed characteristic, visible minority status, plays one of the strongest determining roles among all the predictors of feeling like a real Canadian. Interestingly, given the more frequent episodes of discrimination experienced by visible minorities, and the feelings of alienation likely to be associated, it is not the visible minorities in the sample who are less likely to feel like a real Canadian. Rather, visible minority refugees are significantly more likely than their non-visible minority counterparts to feel like a real Canadian.

Column three of Table 6-6 reveals that there is a moderately strong positive impact when controlling on the full range of predictor variables (Beta =.19**).

It is possible that, perhaps on the basis of their need to fit in, visible minority refugees may also strongly desire to assert their right to claim themselves as Canadian – to feel they *belong within* Canada and that Canada *belongs to* them. This may be the case as they, compared to their non-visible minority counterparts, may more often be the objects of doubt when insisting upon their rightful affiliation with a Canadian identity. As a Canadian born citizen and a member of a visible minority group, I continue to inform other Canadians of my status as a native-born citizen (i.e., I am not an immigrant), the underlying implication being that people do not immediately identify me as a 'real' Canadian[22]. Another example appeared in the news this past summer. A visitor to Canada, a black female born in Britain, was handcuffed and detained by customs officers at the Pearson International Airport in Toronto. The customs officers challenged the authenticity of the woman's British passport on the grounds that "she didn't look or sound British enough" (June 4, 2001, www.ctvnews.com). The woman had not only presented her passport, but seven additional pieces of identification, none of which proved to the customs officers that she was born in Britain. Although this is an extreme example, such immigrant labeling may be occurring in more subtle ways, such that visible minority refugees in this sample may be aware of the tendency of certain Canadians to place refugees in a *permanently* immigrant status, or as Himani Bannerji (2000: 91) calls it, an "outsider-insider status". Consequently, they may feel more strongly than their non-visible minority counterparts about asserting themselves as "real" Canadians. Thus, it may be feelings of ostracism brought on by discrimination and labeling which fuel the desire to claim and assert a

[22] In a sense, this is not surprising considering that under 5% of the Canadian born adult population (15 years and older) is a visible minority (Statistics Canada, 1996). Statistics Canada (1998) reveals that while 11% of the total Canadian population was a member of a visible minority group in 1996, only 3% were born in Canada. The remaining 8% were visible minority immigrants born outside of Canada.

sense of being Canadian or feeling like an 'average Canadian'. In this sense, feeling like a Canadian is more an assertion of the right to claim a sense of belonging, rather than actually experiencing a sense of belonging.

One can interpret this finding, however, from a reverse perspective. That is, why is it that *non-visible minorities* feel *less* like a real Canadian? The answer may be found in the separate regional groups in the sample. To construct the visible minority variable, former Yugoslavians (n=329) and Polish (n=9) refugees were categorized as non-visible minority refugees, while the remaining refugees were considered visible minorities. Table 6-1 showed that former Yugoslavians (who constitute the vast majority of the non-visible minority sample) and Polish refugees were the least likely to feel like a real Canadian. Thus, the question becomes: why do former Yugoslavians and Polish refugees feel less like a real Canadian? One possible explanation may be that because of their racial similarity with the so-called "average Canadian" (i.e., white), former Yugoslavians and Polish refugees may expect to integrate smoothly into mainstream society. Ironically, it may be because of their racial similarity with the dominant society that they, in a sense, feel a degree of relative deprivation compared to the "average Canadian". Because they are a part of the racial majority, the non-visible minority refugees may be more acutely aware of their differences, perceiving (and likely experiencing) that they lack essential cultural and language skills needed to be considered 'real' Canadians. It is possible that both explanations offered are contributing to this curious finding.

Another notable impact on feeling like a real Canadian is health status upon arrival. When considering the impacts of capital and control variables alone, phase one of Table 6-7 shows a small and non-significant relationship between self-reports of physical and psychological health and feeling like a real Canadian. (Beta =.041) . However, phase two reveals that the impact of health may have been suppressed. With the inclusion of the economic indictors of integration (quality of employment, annual household income, and home

ownership), physical and psychological health become significant determinants of feeling like a Canadian. That is, the better one's physical and psychological health (Beta =.13*), the more one feels like a real Canadian. Its interaction with these economic factors suggests that a refugee's good health is an asset which promotes positive adjustment in a new environment. This, in turn, may produce a stronger Canadian identity. Phase three shows that the impact of health is weakened slightly with the inclusion of the subjective factors of mainstream integration (Beta =.10*).

Unexpectedly, length of residence in Canada measures were not strong net predictors of "feeling like a real Canadian". On the other hand, geographic mobility factors do have some impact on feeling like a real Canadian. Phase one of Table 6-7 shows that when considering only forms of capital and the control variables, the impact of 'moved in Canada' (Beta = .06) is small and non-significant. However, phase three shows that with the inclusion of the economic outcomes and subjective factors of integration indicators, the impact of this mobility factor increases considerably (Beta = .14*). Thus, the more a refugee has moved in Canada, the more they feel like a real Canadian. Refugees who have moved may have done so to find better employment and educational opportunities, or a more receptive social and cultural environment. Having made the move, these refugees may now be more satisfied with their current city and thus, more likely to feel a sense of stability and belonging within Canada. Furthermore, the independent variable, "potential mover", shows that once a refugee has decided that their current city of residence is satisfactory and that they plan to remain, the more likely they will feel like a real Canadian. When considering the impact of all independent variables, the impact of 'potential mover' is negative and significant, as illustrated in column three of table (Beta = -.12*).

Spending time in a refugee camp emerged as another significant factor in the development of a Canadian identity. As seen in column three of Table 6-7, the

longer refugees spent in a refugee camp, the less likely they were to develop a sense of belonging and affiliation to a Canadian identity (Beta = -.12*). This finding shows how the events of a refugee experience may be critical in determining how a refugee comes to view their host society. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Harrell-Bond (1999: 136) suggests that in order to receive resources and services in a refugee camp, refugees must relinquish control over access and are often placed in a position "where they have no alternative but to receive". This disempowerment leads to alienation and a forced dependency on institutions (i.e., the refugee camp) to provide essential services. As a result, Mazur (1988: 54) explains that upon resettlement in their new home "refugees experience powerlessness, inappropriate reorientation, and social and psychological problems precisely as a result of residing in formal settlements." In light of this scenario, developing a sense of affiliation and belonging to a Canadian identity may become a more difficult and lengthy process.

**D. Conclusions**

To feel like a "real" Canadian is a highly subjective experience and, as such, it is challenging to envision how this multifaceted perception can contribute to a more complete sense of belonging and identity. In forming their current identity, refugees are negotiating their personal histories with possible future identities. This chapter contributes to an overall understanding of what factors are central in determining a sense of belonging and personal affiliation with Canada, and, moreover, of what "feeling like a real Canadian" may mean to refugees.

Acknowledging the value of capital investment in the process of identity formation, Raymond Breton (1997: 7) suggests that

> identification derives from investing of oneself, one's time and personal resources in the group or institution and its projects. This personal investment leads individuals to see the community as something of their own making and which, therefore, belongs to them.

This chapter demonstrates that essential forms of capital along with other critical factors play major roles in determining and defining how refugees come to develop a sense of belonging and identity within Canada, and how Canada comes to belong to them.

**The Impact of Human, Economic and Social Capital**

In terms of human capital, the results strongly suggest that former education and occupation, and language and other training obtained in Canada, were not instrumental in developing a sense of self-identification as a Canadian. Although they did not have direct impacts, the regression analysis revealed the indirect impact of three economic indicators, employment quality, annual household income and home ownership. Together these three economic factors raised the variance explained from 13% to 20%, suggesting that economic adjustment interacts with previously suppressed predictor variables and thus indirectly promotes self-identification as a Canadian and a sense of belonging.

More significant than economic capital, however, refugees' social capital plays a direct role in facilitating self-identification as a Canadian and in promoting a sense of belonging. Specifically, it is not refugees' in-group ties (family and co-ethnic friends), but ties in the broader community, which facilitate "feeling like a real Canadian". As Breton (1997: 7) suggests, ties developed outside the ethnic group or family boundary open the boundaries between in-group and mainstream environments and "lead[s] the individual to see the community as something of their own making and which, therefore, belongs to them."

Suggesting the desire to keep the boundaries fluid, refugees who believe it is important to have "Canadian friends" (outside one's ethnic group) and who believe that the people in their city of residence are warm and friendly, feel more Canadian. These findings also suggest that extra-familial ties have *acceptance power*. Focusing on mainstream ties to define their Canadian identity suggests that refugees may be trying to align themselves with some sense of an "average" Canadian. Regression results support this interpretation, showing that the more refugees believe that people should change their ways to become more like an average Canadian, the more Canadian they feel. It may be in this sense that refugees feel they must "fit in". Responding to the perceived and/or real pressure to integrate quickly and with little error, refugees may feel the need to become like an "average Canadian" in order to successfully 'fit in' to mainstream environments, such as educational institutions, workplaces, and public spaces.

**The Impact of Control Variables**

Two ascribed characteristics, gender and visible minority status, two mobility factors, "moved in Canada' and 'potential mover', and time spent in a refugee camp all show significant relationships with feeling like a real Canadian. First, males are more likely than females to "feel like a real Canadian". This difference may be related to differences in network structures, with men having a more diverse extra-familial network (as the network analysis in Chapter Two suggests).

Interestingly, non-visible minority refugees are less likely to feel Canadian. Two possible explanations are offered. An "outsider-insider" status may encourage visible minority refugees to assert their rightful claim to a Canadian identity. Looking at it from a reverse perspective, non-visible minority refugees may be experiencing a sense of relative deprivation with their Canadian-born racial

counterparts, feeling they lack essential cultural and linguistic (including grammar and accent) skills to "fit in" to the dominant racial group in Canada.

In addition to these ascribed characteristics, health status upon arrival also influences identity formation in a Canadian context. The results suggest that poor health within the first six months of arrival delays the process of building a sense of belonging and self-identification as a Canadian, or conversely, that good health promotes self-identification.

Time spent in a refugee camp also slows down the process of identification and belonging. The longer refugees have spent in a refugee camp, the less they feel like a real Canadian, suggesting that future identity formation is heavily dependent upon negotiating past experiences and regaining a sense of empowerment, security and self-determination.

In terms of mobility impacts, moving around in Canada promotes a sense of belonging and identity, suggesting that refugees who moved were searching for a city which could meet their occupation, education and lifestyle needs. Satisfaction with their current city choice may facilitate 'feeling like a real Canadian'. Thus, refugees who are planning to stay are more likely to feel like real Canadians compared to refugees planning to move.

The final chapter employs Giddens' *structuration theory* to interpret these results and those presented in the previous chapters examining network structures and economic outcomes. Specifically, *structuration theory* is used to understand how various forms of potential resources may enable or constrain refugees in their economic integration and self-identification as a Canadian.

## TABLE 6-1
## "Feeling Like A Real Canadian", by Sex, Age and Region of Origin
% of respondents

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | 3 (Neutral) | Agree | Strongly Agree | No Response | Total N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] Refugee Population | 22 | 19 | | | | | 525 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | |
| Female | 27 | 21 | 22 | 13 | 15 | 2 | 265 |
| Male | 22 | 18 | 20 | 15 | 25 | 0 | 260 |
| **Age** | | | | | | | |
| 22-30 years | 30 | 24 | 19 | 8 | 18 | 0 | 148 |
| 31-40 years | 22 | 19 | 24 | 14 | 19 | 2 | 233 |
| 41-50 years | 21 | 16 | 22 | 16 | 24 | 2 | 101 |
| 51 years and older | 26 | 16 | 9 | 23 | 23 | 2 | 43 |
| **Region of Origin** | | | | | | | |
| Africa | 29 | 6 | 12 | 9 | 44 | 0 | 34 |
| Central/South America | 2 | 20 | 25 | 16 | 14 | 2 | 49 |
| East Asia | 6 | 56 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 0 | 16 |
| Former Yugoslavia | 28 | 19 | 23 | 15 | 13 | 2 | 329 |
| Middle East | 17 | 16 | 17 | 11 | 36 | 2 | 88 |
| Poland | 0 | 22 | 44 | 11 | 22 | 0 | 9 |
| [illegible] | 128 | 102 | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | 9 | 525 |

**Table 6-2: "Feeling Like a Real Canadian" Correlation Matrix: Human Capital and Economic Outcomes**

| Variable List | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Dependent Variable** | | | | | | | | |
| **1. Feeling Like a Real Canadian** | | .09 | .01 | -.07 | .08 | -.09 | .03 | .03 |
| **Human Capital** | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Occupation in Former Home | | | .51 | -.08 | .15** | .003 | .10* | .06 |
| 3. Education in Former Home | | | | -.004 | .22** | .004 | .20** | -.01 |
| 4. English Language Training Hours | | | | | -.08 | -.21** | -.26** | -.18** |
| 5. Training/Education Obtained in Canada | | | | | | .07 | .04 | -.09* |
| **Economic Outcomes** | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Quality of Employment | | | | | | | .38** | .18** |
| 7. Annual Household Income | | | | | | | | .40** |
| 8. Home Ownership | | | | | | | | |

**Table 6-3: "Feeling Like a Real Canadian" and Social Capital Correlation Matrix**

| Variable List | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Dependent Variable** | | | | | |
| **1. Feeling Like A Real Canadian** | | .18** | -.03 | -.01 | -.04 |
| **Social Capital** | | | | | |
| 2. Presence of Extra-Familial Ties | | | .06 | -.11* | -.11* |
| 3 Time Spent With Co-Ethnic Friends | | | | .05 | .20** |
| 4. Proximity to Close Family Ties | | | | | .31** |
| 5. Living With A Spouse | | | | | |

## TABLE 6-4: Subjective Factors of Mainstream Integration in Canadian Society

| | Total Refugee Population |
|---|---|
| [redacted] | **Total % Agree and Strongly Agree** |
| I feel like a real Canadian. | 34% |
| People who come to Canada should change their ways to be more like average Canadians. | 36% |
| [redacted] | **Total % Important and Very Important** |
| Being welcomed by the people who live here. | 96% |
| Making Canadian friends. | 89% |
| [redacted] | **Total % Concerned and Very Concerned** |
| "Fitting in" in Canadian society? | 48% |
| [redacted] | **Total % Agree and Strongly Agree** |
| The people in (name of city) are friendly and welcoming. | 78% |
| [redacted] | **525** |

## Table 6-5: "Feeling Like a Real Canadian" Correlation Matrix: Subjective Factors of Mainstream Integration and Ascribed Characteristics

| Variable List | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Dependent Variable** | | | | | | | | | |
| **1. Feeling Like A Real Canadian** | | .12** | .20** | .24** | -.07 | .19** | .12** | .10** | .16** |
| **Subjective Factors of Mainstream Integration** | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Success Welcomed By Canadians | | | .22** | .20** | .11* | -.02 | .02 | .03 | .01 |
| 3. Success is Having Canadian Friends | | | | .15** | .13** | .12** | .004 | .06 | .01 |
| 4. City People Friendly and Welcoming | | | | | -.12* | .11* | -.07 | -.06 | .04 |
| 5. Concerned About Fitting In | | | | | | -.01 | -.02 | -.06 | .19** |
| 6. Becoming an Average Canadian | | | | | | | .04 | -.12** | -.18** |
| **Control Variables: Ascribed Characteristics** | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Sex (Male = 1) | | | | | | | | -.05 | .08 |
| 8. Age | | | | | | | | | .11* |
| 9. Visible Minority Status (Yes =1) | | | | | | | | | |

## Table 6-6: "Feeling Like a Real Canadian" and Other Control Variables Correlation Matrix

| Variable List | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Dependent Variable** | | | | | | | | | | |
| **1. Feeling Like A Real Canadian** | | -.04 | .16** | -.05 | .13** | .01 | -.12** | -.01 | .01 | .05 |
| **Control Variables** | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Time Spent in Refugee Camp | | | -.15** | .11* | -.11* | .03 | .05 | -.11 | -.03 | -.07 |
| 3. Length of Time in Canada | | | | .000 | .83** | -.04 | -.08 | -.10* | .19** | -.05 |
| 4. Moved in Canada | | | | | -.34** | -.11* | -.09* | .04 | -.06 | .01 |
| 5. How Long Lived in Current City | | | | | | .02 | -.04 | -.13** | .17** | -.05 |
| 6. City Size | | | | | | | -.23** | -.14** | -.10* | .09* |
| 7. Potential Mover | | | | | | | | -.003 | -.22** | -.04 |
| 8. Difficulty With Credential Recognition | | | | | | | | | .04 | .002 |
| 9. Discrimination | | | | | | | | | | -.13** |
| 10. Physical and Psychological Health Upon Arrival | | | | | | | | | | |

**Table 6-7: The Impact of Potential Capital, Control Variables, Economic Outcomes and Subjective Factors of Mainstream Integration on "Feeling Like A Real Canadian"**

| | Independent Variables | Phase 1 Beta | Phase 2 Beta | Phase 3 Beta | r with Feeling Canadian |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Human Capital** | Occupation in Former Home | .02 | .07 | .01 | .085* |
| | Education in Former Home | .001 | -.01 | .02 | .014 |
| | English Language Training Hours | -.04 | -.03 | -.02 | -.068 |
| | Type of Education/Training In Canada | .04 | .003 | -.02 | .041 |
| **Social Capital** | Presence of Extra-Familial Ties | .17** | .17** | .12* | .175** |
| | Time Spent With Co-Ethnic Friends | .01 | -.01 | -.004 | -.028 |
| | Proximity to Close Family | -.02 | -.05 | -.04 | -.023 |
| | Living With Spouse/Partner | -.01 | .02 | .02 | -.035 |
| **Control Variables** | Sex (Male = 1) | .10* | .13* | .16** | .123** |
| | Age | .11* | .02 | .02 | .100* |
| | Visible Minority Status (Yes = 1) | .20** | .16* | .19** | .159** |
| | Time Spent in Refugee Camp | -.05 | -.13* | -.12* | -.037 |
| | Length of Time in Canada | .07 | .05 | .10 | .159** |
| | Moved in Canada | .06 | .14* | .14* | .051 |
| | How Long Lived in Current City | .02 | .11 | .07 | .131** |
| | City Size | -.01 | .01 | .03 | .013 |
| | Potential Mover | -.08 | -.17** | -.12* | -.124** |
| | Difficulty With Credential Recognition | -.002 | .07 | .05 | -.010 |
| | Discrimination | -.04 | -.05 | -.02 | .010 |
| | Physical and Psychological Health Upon Arrival | .04 | .13* | .10* | .052 |
| **Economic Outcomes** | Quality of Employment | n/a | -.06 | -.06 | -.087 |
| | Annual Household Income | n/a | -.02 | -.01 | .027 |
| | Home Ownership | n/a | -.03 | -.04 | .029 |
| **Subjective Factors of Mainstream Integration** | Success is Being Welcomed By Canadians | n/a | n/a | .06 | .121** |
| | Success is Having Canadian Friends | n/a | n/a | .15** | .195** |
| | Community People Are Friendly and Welcoming | n/a | n/a | .13* | .235** |
| | Concerned About Fitting In | n/a | n/a | -.10* | -.069 |
| | Immigrants Should Change Ways to Become More Like Average Canadian | n/a | n/a | .14** | .189** |
| | | $R^2$=.125 | $R^2$=.195 | $R^2$=.283 | |
| | | N = 501 | N = 391 | N = 385 | |

# CHAPTER SEVEN

# STRUCTURATION THEORY AND POTENTIAL CAPITAL: INTERPRETING RESETTLEMENT OUTCOMES

## A. Introduction

This chapter examines refugees' resettlement outcomes in the context of an interpretive theoretical framework. Specifically, structuration theory is used to discuss the interplay between capital, agency, structure and power in the resettlement process of adult refugees. Part B reviews the findings regarding refugees' stock of potential sources of capital and its relationship with resettlement outcomes, focussing on issues regarding the distribution of resources and capital power. Part C builds on the notion of power and addresses the larger theoretical questions laid out at the beginning of this study by interpreting the research findings within the context of structuration theory. Finally, the chapter concludes with a re-examination of refugee resettlement practices. Based on the theoretical interpretation of capital, agency, structure and power, implications for resettlement policy and programs are discussed in Part D. Part E considers future research questions. Finally, Part F offers concluding remarks.

## B. Summary of Findings

Resettlement causes a sudden upheaval in the routines of social life for refugees, resulting in unpredictable consequences and a loss in the basic security of everyday existence. Social structures and actions that refugees had taken for granted and used to their advantage need to be re-evaluated and re-established in the new home. In the process of rebuilding a routined lifestyle, resources with capital potential are an essential requirement. The goals of this thesis were to identify the resources refugees have available to them during resettlement, and

more importantly, to determine if these resources have the power to produce desired outcomes.

**Assessing The Stock of Potential Capital**

What is most apparent when reviewing the findings of this study is that these refugees have a substantial and varied stock of potential resources available to them. These refugees possess both surviving and emerging network ties. Surviving ties are particularly evident in their familial network structure. Upon arrival, the vast majority settled with, at least, an intact nuclear family (a spouse and children), with almost one-quarter reporting some family members present in Canada prior to arrival. While most refugees reported leaving close family behind, almost one-half aspired to reunite with family members; this represented the potential for an emerging family network.

An emergent network structure was most evident, however, in the extra-familial ties that refugees began to develop soon after resettling. Immediately upon arrival, refugees established contact with sponsor families or host volunteers, and as resettlement continued, contact was made with a range of ties from a variety of mainstream institutions, including service providers, health professionals, education advisors and instructors, financial advisors, and prospective and actual employers and co-workers. In addition to these ties, others providing a sense of belonging and community were also incorporated into refugees' network of extra-familial relations. In-group ties were available and preferred sources of interaction for a variety of professional and personal matters. In particular, co-ethnic friends and family present in and outside the household functioned as refugees' main social support systems, offering these newcomers a protected and secure environment in which to re-establish their disrupted lives. As resettlement progressed, refugees ventured into a variety of social spaces which allowed them to broaden the potential for forging ties in the larger society. Thus, in addition to participating in ethnic group and family-

centered activities, mainstream interaction was evident via recreational, leisure, and volunteer activities.

In general, refugees in the sample arrived in Canada with an appreciable stock of human capital which had considerable resource utility in their former homes. Training in the English language appeared to be the only deficiency in refugees' stock of human capital resources upon arrival in Canada for both men and women.

*The Distribution of Potential Capital: Differences in Gender, Age and Region of Origin*

The distribution of networks and other forms of potential capital varied considerably by gender, age and region of origin. Refugee women were more likely than their male counterparts to have an intact household family structure within Canada. However, women were, for a number of reasons, less likely to have developed ties outside the family. That is, compared to refugee men, women: a) were more likely to be living with and likely caring for children under 5 years of age (thereby limiting their interactions with the public); b) showed lower participation rates in recreational activities which could promote mainstream interaction; c) relied more on family members than extra-familial ties to discuss various matters, such as money and personal problems; and d) were more likely than men to be unemployed in their former home, likely making it more difficult to enter the labour force in Canada.

In terms of human capital, both refugee men and women arrived in Canada with comparable levels of education, many having some post-secondary education and training. In addition, about one-half of both men and women in the sample had been previously employed in professional/managerial and skilled occupations. The largest gender difference was that more women than men were unemployed in their former homes. Thus, it is likely the case that women who

were well educated, pursued a career, and those who were not remained out of the labour force.

Significant age differences emerged, particularly when comparing the youngest and oldest refugees. Many refugees in the oldest age group (51 years and older) experienced the unique advantage of having their adult children present in Canada before arrival. Furthermore, a comparatively large proportion of refugees in this oldest age group planned to sponsor adult children left behind. Taken together, these findings suggest that both parents and their adult children are interdependent, each possessing the resources to support one another in migration and resettlement. With respect to refugees' range of ties, members of this oldest age group relied heavily on co-ethnic friends and family for social and emotional support, but relied less on contact with the broader society. On the other hand, the younger refugees had extended their network to include ties in the larger community, as evidenced in their friendships with individuals outside their ethnic group, and their greater time spent in social spaces facilitating mainstream involvement, such as leisure and volunteer activities. Human capital resources tended to favor the older refugees. Many refugees between 22 and 30 years of age had incomplete post-secondary degrees, likely reflecting an interrupted education. Thus, younger refugees were less likely to have had previous careers and advanced training, and were also more likely to be unemployed in their former homes.

Notable regional differences were also apparent. The familial and extra-familial network structures of African and former Yugoslavian refugees stood out. Although they had less family in Canada prior to their arrival, former Yugoslavians were also less likely than other refugees to be separated from their immediate family, many arriving as intact nuclear families. In contrast, one-half of the African refugees were single. They were the least likely to arrive with family, and the most likely to leave close family members behind, but with aspirations to sponsor them in the future. Because of the availability of family

ties, former Yugoslavians had a much more complete social support network. On the other hand, African refugees, with their less extensive kin network, relied more on ties outside the family for a range of professional and personal concerns. Their relatively limited family ties, however, allowed African refugees more opportunities to interact with the mainstream environment, as evidenced by their mainstream social support network and their group or team-focussed recreational activities. This finding is an example of the value of "weak ties". Weak ties with family enabled African refugees to forge bonds with the wider society, broadening their network structure and range of potential resources.

In terms of human capital advantages, former Yugoslavian and African refugees stand out again. Former Yugoslavians were most likely to have a university education, with a greater proportion being formerly employed in occupations requiring advanced training. A comparatively smaller proportion of African refugees were enrolled in ESL/LINC instruction, suggesting an English language advantage. This advantage may have also allowed African refugees greater access to mainstream social ties.

*The Impact of Potential Capital on Resettlement Outcomes*

Despite a considerable stock of resources available to them, this thesis questioned the value of these resources to refugees. Using a multiple regression analysis strategy, refugees' *capital power* was determined by evaluating the relative value of networks and human capital resources on four resettlement outcomes. Three economic outcomes, quality of employment, annual household income, and homeownership, and one subjective outcome measuring self-identification as a Canadian, were examined.

*i. Human Capital Potential*

One of the most significant findings of this research centers on the unproductive value of human capital which refugees possessed upon arrival in Canada. Although their accumulated stock of human capital had served refugees well in their former homes, prior education and work experience offered resettling refugees virtually no resource power in securing an employment and income status that matched their formerly achieved status', or purchasing power toward buying a home in Canada. Significant systemic barriers such as foreign credential recognition and labour market discrimination neutralized the power of refugees' human capital. Furthermore, because English language instruction and training was a human capital deficit for the majority of refugees, time invested in upgrading credentials postponed refugees' entrance into the labour market and the process of pursuing career advancement opportunities. Consequently, income levels and the possibility of owning a home were also reduced. Potential human capital resources exerted equally negligible effects on self-identification as a Canadian.

*ii. Social Capital Potential*

The central question in this study about capital potential involves the impact of social capital. Are refugees' surviving and emergent network structures able to compensate for the lack of capital power inherent in their human capital?

Relative to the other potential forms of capital considered, a refugee's network ties contributed greatly to economic outcomes. Close ties (family and friends) were found to be more helpful than ties in the mainstream society. In particular, refugees living with a spouse experienced a higher quality of employment and received more income compared to refugees who did not. Couple status allows for flexibility in pursuing career opportunities and provides a chance for refugees to expand the range of ties via their spouse's network. It may also be

the case that the single refugees in the sample were in the process of obtaining advanced education and were financing their schooling with part-time or full-time lower-status positions. Close ties were also found to help refugees in finding employment. The multi-variate analysis revealed that refugees who relied on either a family member or a friend to find a job gained a higher quality of employment than those refugees who relied strictly on their own human capital resources and personal efforts.

Network ties also displayed their social capital strength through refugees' purchasing power. Close proximity to family members (members in the household and family living in the same city as the refugee) increased the chances of owning a home. This finding suggests that children in the home require a larger living space and that refugee families may be pooling their financial resources to help each other in their residential adjustment.

However, it is important to emphasize the limited value of network ties. Although helpful in finding employment and purchasing a home, refugees' networks of family and friends are unable to restore their previous occupational status, and are incapable of averting downward occupational mobility. Thus, although these ties have a degree of social capital power, this power is constricted by larger societal forces such as foreign credential recognition procedures and institutionalized downward mobility. Network ties were also found to constrain female refugees in achieving high quality employment. In particular, women with young children (under 5 years old) in the household were more likely to report a lower quality of employment than their male counterparts. This finding suggests that refugee women, in particular, may be at a *social capital* disadvantage as child care responsibilities act to limit employment advancement opportunities.

Length of residence plays a significant role in producing positive employment, income and home ownership outcomes. The findings suggest that refugees who

have been in Canada, and in their current city of residence, for a longer period, have a greater chance of expanding the range of both familial and extra-familial ties. In turn, these ties can aid refugees in gaining suitable employment and income, and in their residential adjustment.

The potential for refugees' network ties to positively affect self-identification as a Canadian is also strongly evident. For refugees, 'feeling like a real Canadian' is largely rooted in identifying with a view of an "average" mainstream Canadian. While not abandoning their prior ethnic and social identity for refugees, developing a Canadian identity was centered on 'fitting in' or acquiring the cultural expertise or cultural capital needed to participate in public spaces and mainstream environments such as the work place and educational institutions. Thus, ties developed beyond family and co-ethnic friends were given primacy in achieving this end. The findings revealed that the greater the range of ties developed outside the in-group, the more refugees feel like a 'real' Canadian.

*iii. Additional Determining Factors*

Along with length of residence and mobility measures, additional critical variables such as time spent in a refugee camp and health status shaped resettlement outcomes. Particularly strong was the impact of ascribed characteristics; being male, young and a member of a non-visible minority group were strong determining forces. These ascribed statuses strengthened refugees' capital power, and consequently, enhanced quality of employment and income levels. In addition, relative to capital and other critical factors, gender and visible minority status played a significant role in determining self-identification as a Canadian. Refugee men were more likely than women to feel like a Canadian. Because refugees tended to define feeling like a Canadian as becoming an 'average' mainstream member of the society, it is possible that refugee men's greater exposure to the mainstream community and workplace

environment promoted a greater sense of belonging and affiliation with a Canadian identity.

Interestingly, refugees from former Yugoslavia and Poland (designated as non-visible minority refugees) were less likely to feel like a real Canadian. Conversely, refugees of a visible minority status were more likely to feel like a Canadian. Because they are a part of the racial majority, the non-visible minority refugees may be more conscious of their other differences, believing that they lack essential cultural and language skills to be considered 'real' Canadians. For the visible minority portion of the sample, feeling like a Canadian may be more an assertion of the right to claim a sense of belonging, rather than actually experiencing a sense of belonging. In this sense, being a member of a visible minority could not be construed as a resource advantage. Furthermore, former Yugoslavian and Polish refugees may still be experiencing the disadvantages associated with a visible minority status, for example, speaking with an accent.

### C. Interpreting Capital Power Using Structuration Theory

The data analyses in this thesis highlighted four elements central to the refugee resettlement process: structure, capital, power and agency. In his theory of structuration, Giddens (1984) integrates these elements to arrive at an "adequate account of (meaningful) action". The use of structuration theory is critical in understanding how refugees' network ties and other forms of potential capital operate in a societal context. As structures, networks can function as forms of social capital or they can be constraining. Similarly, the rules governing potential resources, such as human capital, can either constrain or enable refugees' choices in their resettlement.

Arguing that agents have knowledge of society's institutions and an understanding of the consequences of their actions, Giddens stresses that actors are continually making choices. These choices, however, are made within the

boundaries of an evolving structural context. As Giddens (1979: 70) writes, 'every process of action is a production of something new, a fresh act; but, at the same time, all action exists in continuity with the past, which supplies the means of its initiation." Structure entails two sets of properties: rules and resources. In their active negotiation with society, individuals draw upon these rules and resources to affect intended outcomes. Put another way, all action is situated within these intersecting sets of rules and resources.

Describing the duality of structure, Giddens (1979: 69) views rules and resources as both enabling or constraining, acting as "both the medium and outcome of the practices that constitute [social systems]." Rules offer prescriptions for behavior, such as those embedded in a gender script. If violated, these rules can give rise to negative sanctions. Thus, rules generate practices, acting as the medium in the production and reproduction of social systems.

Giddens (1979: 69) treats resources as the "'bases' or 'vehicles' of power", offering individuals "facility" to create options or choices when acting. In other words, "resources are the media through which power is exercised" (1979: 91). Furthermore, power is not a resource itself, rather it is manifest or instantiated in action and remains latent if not used. In the case of refugees, *capital* can be defined as resource; *capital potential* represents the latent power inherent in the capital; and *capital power* represents an actor's capability to produce intended actions and outcomes. Capital as resource can be argued to offer refugees *transformative capacity* whereby the power inherent in the resource enables them to get others to comply with their desired resettlement outcomes.

Giddens argues further that in all social systems there are "shifting balances of resources, altering the overall distribution of resources". However, Giddens (1982:197, 198) also argues that no matter how unbalanced the distribution of power, actors who are seemingly powerless, such as refugees, "are able to

mobilize resources whereby they carve out 'spaces of control' in respect of their day-to-day lives and in respect of the activities of the more powerful."

At several critical levels in her or his resettlement, a refugee's adjustment process can be interpreted within this framework of structure, agency and power. By defining structure as both enabling and constraining, we can view refugees as active agents in the resettlement process. The idea that refugees are active in their resettlement has been overlooked and underestimated in most research and practice. In this analysis, refugee agency is acknowledged and defined in an examination of the resources refugees use to achieve resettlement outcomes. How resources are mobilized, power is enacted, and outcomes produced depends upon the rules governing social practices. In the context of *structuration theory*, the following section examines human capital and network ties for their resource value, focusing on the rules governing their value and transformative capacity as enacted through the lens of refugee agency.

*Human Capital*

Interpreting human capital as a resource in the context of resettlement offers a unique example of the inconstant status of power and its dependent relationship with the rules governing social practices and outcomes. In their former homes, refugees' human capital base, in the form of education and occupation, had considerable power. Participants were well-represented in professional and skilled occupations in their former homes, implying that these occupations were well-matched with the degree of education and training obtained. But when refugees attempted to use this former stock of human capital in Canada, their efforts were neutralized. Their prior education and occupation were converted from a formerly powerful stock of resources into a powerless means of producing intended employment outcomes. In the context of new societal rules, the transformative capacity formerly inherent in their human capital was disabled. For example, the rules governing foreign credential recognition

procedures, which promote and sustain institutionalized discrimination, were enacted (by adjudicators) to discredit refugees' former education and former work experience.

Constrained from utilizing these previously useful resources, refugees' power to choose was eliminated. That is, to compensate for this loss in power, refugees had no choice but to re-examine the value of their human capital. Supporting Giddens' claim that actors have knowledge of societal institutions and the consequences of their actions, refugees in this sample were acutely aware of their deficiencies and focused on re-establishing productive resources. In fact, it could be argued that it is those individuals confronted with and challenged by a new set of structural rules governing social practices who are more likely to be mindful of their subordinated position in society, and who are also more likely to be aware that they need to "know how to play according to the [rules]." (Giddens, 1979: 67).

*Network Ties*

In the context of structuration theory, network ties are structures which can be understood as both enabling and constraining. As enablers, network ties can be interpreted as resources or social capital. As forces of constraint, network ties can be viewed as engendering rules which restrict choice. Network ties can also be seen as functioning within a larger societal context of rules which can limit their resource or capital power.

Functioning as enablers in the broadest sense, kin networks in this study functioned as "structural links... which mediate the migrant's integration into the new society." (Chimbos & Agocs, 1983: 44). The multi-variate anaylsis revealed that, relative to other forms of capital, living with one's spouse greatly facilitated quality of employment and income levels. This form of social relation allows for flexibility in searching for desired employment, and exposes married refugees to

the range of ties available to their spouse. From the viewpoint of those lacking this resource, being unmarried constrains choice, and therefore, places limits on agency. Single refugees may have no choice but to accept a lower paying, lower status job because they lack the financial, informational and emotional support which may be more accessible in a co-habiting or marital context.

Building an extensive range of network ties outside the family household also enabled refugees to find suitable employment. The greater the range of ties, the better the quality of employment, and the higher the annual household income levels. Used as social capital resources in the search for high quality employment, in-group ties, such as family and co-ethnic friends, were particularly valuable. Despite the low value of their human capital, refugees turned to their limited pool of ties, and proved to be "very adept at converting whatever resources they [did] possess into some degree of control" over their economic circumstances (Giddens, 1982: 199).

Proximity to close family allows the pooling of financial capital, thus enabling refugees a greater chance of owning a home. Having familial support to purchase a home not only indicates the resource power of refugees' family networks, but indicates that a sense of family has been re-claimed. In promoting a sense of family, homeownership is a concrete measure of re-establishing permanence, routine, and ultimately, from Giddens' perspective, a sense of *ontological security*. Denied during the transient stages of uprooting and resettlement, establishing a home gives refugees opportunities to negotiate their identities within a context of relative freedom and control. Furthermore, owning a home reflects an investment toward developing a reliable, stable and productive social network both within the inner circle of ties and the mainstream environment.

However, despite these favorable impacts, the resource value of these close ties was clearly limited, particularly with respect to employment outcomes.

Functioning within a larger context of restraint, the capital power of network ties (including one's spouse) was subordinate to larger societal rules which limited refugees' access to employment opportunities comparable to their former occupational status. As noted above, the rules governing the adjudication of foreign credentials, and the system of institutionalized downward mobility, depreciated the resource value or capital power of ties. As agents, the need to turn to ties reflected the limits of refugees' transformative capacity. Unable to use their former capital, refugees re-defined and downgraded their initial employment goals to reflect what they knew about the low value of their former assets, demonstrating Giddens' (1984) notion of reflexive monitoring. Rather than relying solely on their own human capital and investment in additional training, they also turned to the next set of resources available to them -- in-group ties.

As forces of constraint, certain network ties engender rules and associated sanctions, effectively demonstrating how social relations involve the negotiation of rules. For example, the observation that the presence of very young children in the home reduces the quality of employment more so for refugee women than for men suggests the constraining impact of family ties on women's employment advancement. Dense family networks "may trap the individual within a limited set of normative expectations, information and social contacts, rather than fulfill [the] need to make a transition to new social roles" (Walker et al., 1977: 36). Thus, rather than pursuing employment opportunities, women with young children who are working or looking for a job chose to follow the rules prescribed by a normative gender script dictating that mothers should focus primarily on child care, and less on employment status. This action ensured the reproduction of this gendered social practice, but prevented the alternative action of pursuing employment opportunities. Thus, as Giddens (1979: 67) would argue, "rules generate - or are the medium of the production and reproduction of - practices", in this case the reproduction of the traditional female role of primary caregiver. As a medium of constraint, this finding

demonstrates that rules have the power to constrain refugees from producing certain outcomes (i.e., employment advancement), but also act (are enacted) to ensure the reproduction of others.

Isolating the type of ties that affect the formation of Canadian identity is also important. Refugees developed a greater sense of identity and belonging as they engaged in a greater range of contacts in the mainstream environment. Notable gender differences were apparent. Refugee men were more likely than women to report feeling like a real Canadian, presumably as a result of their greater exposure to the mainstream environment and the use of those ties in defining a sense of belonging. That is, proportionately more refugee men than women actively sought ties outside their in-group for social support (perhaps because of a lack of in-group ties, as in the case of single male African refugees), and engaged in recreational activities which involved group involvement.

To understand this gender difference from the perspective of structuration theory, it is useful to again consider the impact of rules on agency and the reproduction of social practices. Studies on sociability, "show that men's and women's patterns of sociability are strongly influenced by traditional gender roles" (Russell, 1999: 207). In particular, Russell suggests that women's leisure activities are more home-centered than men's. Kin and child care responsibilties, transportation problems, and personal income act to restrict women's access to leisure time, particularly outside the home. In addition, compared to women who initiate more frequent contact with kin, men focus on developing a greater range of friendships (Allan, 1989, Russell, 1999). Influenced by these traditional gender rules of sociability, refugee women's support and leisure network choices limit their range of ties, and perhaps, impede the process of identifying with the 'average' Canadian identity.

**D. Policy and Program Implications**

This thesis has shown how refugees' network ties are vital stakeholders in the process of resettlement. In the absence of other forms of previously useful capital and in the presence of societal rules which place limits on *capital power*, refugees use their inner circle of ties to enhance resettlement outcomes. Family units become essential players in resettlement as exchange patterns of assistance re-form and stabilize, replacing other sources of aid such as sponsors or host families. From the perspective of structuration theory, power is enacted by and through refugee family units and individuals as they mobilize resources in the context of their structured social practices. For example, before accessing aid from government and service provider agencies to help find employment, refugees are more likely to turn first to trusted co-ethnic friends and family.

Because family members are necessary links to the receiving society, it is recommended that admission policies should accelerate the process of family reunification for refugees who remain separated from their families, or make strong efforts to keep families intact as they migrate to Canada. Furthermore, admission standards should be fairly applied to refugees from all regions. This recommendation is particularly meaningful at a time when, due to Canada's new anti-terrorist legislation, refugee claimants to Canada are likely to face longer detainment periods and decision times regarding their refugee status. These delays will likely threaten the migration of intact family units from countries with 'suspected' terrorist activities. Functioning as a potential structural barrier, the new legislation may seriously threaten the integrity and development of a refugees' network structure, particularly if male heads of households are subject to greater security measures. Currently, the effects of the legislation will burden future Afghani refugee claimants. In the future, refugee claimants from any country with 'suspected' terrorist activities may be targets. Therefore, this study recommends that the Canadian government must take firm measures to ensure that the anti-terrorist legislation does not compromise Canada's tradition of

humanitarian aid, and that it does not undermine Canada's commitment to family reunification.

Knowing that refugees access in-group ties also means that policy makers and practitioners should direct their efforts at strengthening the *capital power* of these forms of aid. Currently, however, refugees' main sources of information, such as family and friends, lack awareness of essential refugee and immigrant services (Ho, 1997). To ameloriate this problem, service providers must recognize in-group ties as essential informational resources and equip them with appropriate resettlement services information. Perhaps, settlement organizations could encourage refugee families to appoint one or two family members or close co-ethnic friends to act as initial 'ambassadors' for each newly-arrived refugee. These individuals would have both a unique understanding of their family member's or friend's needs and also be able to communicate effectively with the mainstream society. Service providers could then equip these individuals with knowledge of refugee service organizations, information about what types of assistance are available, and how long refugees are eligible for various forms of assistance. As discussed in Chapter Two, lack of awareness of refugee services and eligibility status are two major problems refugees face in the initial stages of resettlement.

A formal appointment of this type may help ensure that refugees, particularly those who are isolated in the home such as women and the elderly, are not without resettlement aid. In addition, these paraprofessionals could bridge the cultural and linguistic barriers that currently exist between service providers and refugee groups. For example, a refugee 'ambassador' may be a necessary form of social capital in the area of health care as miscommunication between health professionals and refugees often results in mistrust and decreased participation in the public health care system. Refugee mediators could also ensure that refugee experiences, such as living in a refugee camp, are recognized by service providers. As the results of this study showed, the longer refugees spent in a

refugee camp, the less likely they were able to establish a sense of belonging within Canada. Being unable to do so may indicate that refugees had experienced a sense of alienation and disempowerment in the refugee camps, making it difficult for them to receive and benefit from settlement services in Canada. Refugee mediators can ensure that refugees receive aid which is line with their unique experiences.

For a 'social capital' program such as this to succeed, however, it is essential that settlement organizations work to actively mobilize the social capital available in refugee groups by directly approaching those in-group ties who can offer assistance. As suggested in Chapter Two, organizations must focus more on advertising their existence and generating stronger links with stakeholders in refugee communities.

In promoting self-identification as a Canadian, it is useful to know that the refugees in this sample who felt the most 'Canadian' were those who were able to access a range of ties within the broader mainstream society. Thus, in addition to promoting the usefulness of in-group ties, policy initiatives should enhance opportunities for refugees to be exposed to the range of ties outside their in-group. Efforts should be specifically aimed at groups of refugees most likely to suffer from physical, social and cultural isolation, such as the elderly and women.

Forms of social capital, however, are limited in their value if larger societal barriers, such as systemic discrimination and foreign credential recognition problems, persist. Thus, it is essential that policy makers, professional licensing bodies and academic institutions work together on eliminating the structural barriers that impede refugees' integration. For example, foreign credential recognition procedures must be re-evaluated to allow refugees and immigrants to gain the most from their former work experience and education. If additional training is indeed required, training programs should assess newcomers' lack of

skills, rather than require them to re-learn knowledge and skills they already possess. As the results showed, additional training postpones re-entry into desired professions. Measures taken to appropriately assess refugees' usable human capital, and to reactivate human capital neutralized by structural barriers, may help in expediting this re-entry process.

To promote greater self-determination, it is also recommended that the Canadian government offer financial support to immigrant groups and individuals who wish to build an extensive range of ethnic group-based resources, ranging from help in caring for dependents to opportunities in career advancement. Furthermore, because owning a home is an important part of re-establishing a sense of ontological security, it is recommended that the government develop programs that would offer accessible loans to refugees who wish to purchase a home. In addition, refugees currently lack information about financial capital investment and the current state of the Canadian economy. In capital terms, information of this nature would represent a form of (institutionalized) cultural capital for aspiring entrepreneurs (Portes, 1998). Programs that address these issues may allow refugees the opportunity to consider moving beyond a state of mere survival.

As forms of potential capital, familial and extra-familial ties can have considerable *transformative capacity* if they have the structural support from society's larger institutions. Thus, policy makers and practitioners should focus on three main objectives. First, they must acknowledge and promote the use of networks in the resettlement process. Second, they must be able to identify these sources of aid. And third, they must be active at minimizing structural barriers (i.e., where appropriate, altering the rules governing social practices) and creating opportunities to ensure that the ties and other forms of potential capital refugees invest in and use generate desired outcomes.

**E. Future Research**

The results of this thesis give rise to several future research possibilities. One involves the further exploration of social and cultural integration in Canadian society, specifically how refugees and immigrants define being Canadian. The results of this thesis draw attention to the fact that refugees feel more Canadian by aligning themselves with some ideal sense of an "average" Canadian. What do these newcomers mean by the "average" Canadian? As Bhikhu Parekh (2000, 15) suggests, a national identity can be thought of as a "shared mental image" lived largely in the imagination of a nation's citizens. How is this 'imagined community' (Parekh, 2000) constructed in the minds of newcomers to Canada? How does it evolve as resettlement progresses? And how do newcomers come to share a common mental image with other Canadians? Does this definition leave room for an evolving multi-cultural Canadian identity?

Using an in-depth interview method, future research studies could probe into how newcomers define what being Canadian means to them, focussing on the social spaces that require them to conform to a mainstream standard, and those that encourage the maintenance of specific ethno-linguistic and/or religious identities. In addition, future studies could probe further into how identity and belonging in Canada is racialized. Is it the case, as the results of this study suggest, that members of a visible minority group experience a need to assert themselves as a Canadian in the face of perceived opposition? Or, is it also the case that newcomers who share some racial similarities with the dominant society feel less Canadian than their racial counterparts because they do not share other mainstream features such as accent and/or proficiency in English?

Various gender issues which emerged from this study also require further analysis. For example, the results of this research showed that refugee women with young children in the home experienced a lower quality of employment than their male counterparts. To further investigate the reasons for this finding,

future studies could directly ask refugees about the barriers to better employment outcomes that are created by the presence of very young children in the household. Do childcare responsibilities limit refugee women's employment advancement?

Another major gender difference appeared in the nature of refugees' network structures. Men were more likely to have developed a greater range of extra-familial ties than women, as evidenced in their social support network. Again, to understand this gender difference, it would be useful to ask women (particularly, older women) what barriers, if any, they face in developing ties in the broader society. Do young children in the home, language barriers, transportation problems and so on restrict access to the broader society for refugee women? Is it the case, as Russell (1999) suggests, that women's support and leisure network choices are influenced by traditional gender rules of sociability which make women's activities more home-centered than men's?

A longitudinal investigation of the development of refugees' network structure would also be useful in understanding these gender differences. Future studies could observe how network structures evolve over time. Do family ties expand equally for men and women? Do in-group ties continue to be the main sources of support that refugee women rely on over the long-term in their adjustment? Or do both refugee men and women develop more friends and connections outside their ethnic group over time? How do possible differences in support affect mental and physical well being for men and women? In addition, do differences affect how males and females develop a sense of belonging and Canadian identity? More generally, do refugees ever come to feel fully "Canadian"?

Another aspect of integration worth investigating over time is refugees' employment experiences. If possible, it would be useful to track the future employment outcomes of the current sample of refugees, particularly those who

were obtaining additional training to re-enter into professional-level occupations. Does additional investment in human capital (English language and other training) pay off in the long-term, or do structural barriers in the Canadian labour market continue to obstruct desired outcomes?

It would also be useful to examine the two forms of capital which were not measured in this thesis, namely, economic and cultural capital. Since economic capital, in the form of money, property and other assets, could significantly facilitate refugees' adjustment, it would be useful to ask refugees what their state of economic capital was when they entered Canada. The current study was only able to examine refugees' forms of economic capital made after arrival (i.e., in the form of annual household income and home ownership). Using a structured interview format, future studies could ask refugees to list the various forms of economic resources they had available to them upon arrival, and how this capital facilitated adjustment. How much financial capital do refugees or family units have when they arrive in Canada? Do family members preceding the arrival of the refugee (or refugee families) offer financial assistance? Do refugees continue to own property in their former home? If not, is there the potential to re-claim lost property (a potential future asset) when conditions in their former country stabilize and order is restored?

Related to property, future studies could also explore the relationship between home ownership and *ontological security*. Using an in-depth interview method, researchers could ask refugees directly what owning a home means to them. How does owning a home offer refugees a sense of control, security and the opportunity to re-build a routined lifestyle? In what ways does a private space such as a home offer the opportunity to re-claim a sense of self which existed prior to the refugee experience? How does owning a home facilitate the expansion of family ties?

*Cultural capital* is also an important resource in refugees' resettlement. However, most studies on refugee resettlement do not investigate this form of capital, in part, because it is difficult to empirically define this complex concept. Conceptually, *cultural capital* has been broadly defined as the "qualities... classificatory schemes, and ultimate values... defined by the dominant classes" (Morrow, 1994: 134). Through their interactions in the work place, educational environment, and a variety of public and private spaces, refugees face numerous obstacles in learning and reproducing the operations of daily life, and in negotiating the ultimate values defined by the dominant society. To empirically investigate this process in the context of refugees' employment adjustment, for example, refugees could be asked to identify the obstacles they experience when interacting with individuals in their workplace. Do refugees lack essential forms of 'cultural capital' at work which may be denying them access to vital connections, who in turn, could offer career advancement opportunities?

**F. Conclusion**

This thesis offered five main contributions to the study of refugee resettlement and to sociology, more broadly. First, unlike previous research, this thesis provided a detailed description of refugee's network structures, revealing that refugees network ties are broader than we might normally acknowledge. Most refugees were able to re-establish a valuable support system of family and close friends, in addition to forging profitable links to the broader society.

Second, the multi-variate analysis further investigated the impacts of these ties, demonstrating that they functioned as valuable forms of social capital for refugees. What the results clearly illustrate is that refugees rely heavily on their inner circle of ties in the process of resettlement. For example, living with a spouse allowed refugees to experience a higher quality of employment. Proximity to other family members facilitated exchange patterns of assistance including the pooling of financial resources. In addition, ties generated in the

broader society enhanced a refugee's sense of Canadian identity. On the other hand, the analysis showed that network ties can also constrain. Refugee women experienced a lower quality of employment, likely because of family care responsibilities.

Third, the thesis demonstrated clearly that while refugees enter Canada with a substantial stock of human capital, it was essentially neutralized in a Canadian labour market context. Thus, while network ties facilitated economic outcomes, refugees' attempts to use their human capital were ineffective. Systemic discrimination and credential recognition barriers are part of an entrenched system of inequality which devalues refugees' human capital worth in Canadian society.

Fourth, structuration theory was used to understand refugees' use of capital in the resettlement process, and to address broader sociological issues concerning social structure, agency and power. Structuration theory highlighted the active participation of refugees in the resettlement process. Unlike previous research which typically views refugees as passive recipients in their resettlement, this study portrays refugees as agents who negotiate their resettlement within a context of enabling and constraining structures. Furthermore, the development and use of capital in resettlement cannot be fully appreciated without considering the effects of two elements governing agency: structure (rules and resources) and power. In addition, structuration theory highlights the notion of the duality of structure. While the concept of *capital* draws attention to the productive (or enabling) capacity of network ties and other potential resources, a structuration perspective acknowledges their coordinated constraining effects. For example, rules mediate power in gender relations, ensuring the reproduction of certain social practices, such as women caring for children and kin, and, at the same time, place restrictions on other choices such as employment opportunities. How power (i.e., in the form of rules and resulting social practices) controls outcomes is also evident in how refugees' former education and work experience

is valued in the context of rules governing their use in the Canadian labour market. Thus, refugees' *capital power* is dependent upon the rules which govern its potential.

Finally, the results of this thesis generated several potentially innovative policy and program implications. With an understanding of how capital functions within a context of structure, agency and power, practitioners and policy makers can make refugees and their inner circle of ties central partners in the resettlement process, and develop programs which bear in mind the structural contexts that govern their agency.

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# APPENDICES

# Appendix A1: Social Capital Indices

**Social Capital**

***Indicators Measuring Degree of Proximity to Close Family Ties***

Variable)
Item 2. Do you have parents living in (current city of residence)? (Binary Variable)
Item 3. Do you have siblings living in (current city of residence)? (Binary Variable)
Item 4. Do you have individuals under 5 years living in your household? (indicating dependents in the home) (Binary Variable)
Item 5. Do you have individuals between 6 and 14 years living in your household? (indicating dependents in the home) (Binary Variable)
Item 6. Do you have youth between 15 and 21 years living in your household? (indicating dependents in the home) (Binary Variable)

a maximum of six indicating a high proximity to family ties. One point each was given if refugees had adult children, parents or siblings living in their current city of residence, and dependants between 0 - 21 years.

***Variables Measuring The Presence of Extra-Familial Ties***

Item 1. friends from home country
Item 2. sponsors/host volunteer
Item 3. Canadian friends
Item 4. neighbors
Item 5. people from work (outside the workplace)
Item 6. other immigrants

Respondents scored one point for each extra-familial contact and could score a maximum of six points (indicating a highly varied extra-familial network) and a minimum of zero (indicating a low presence of extra-familial ties).

***Variable Measuring the Impact of Social Capital in Finding a Job***

How did you get this (current) job? (open-ended question)

Responses were divided into four categories: "Self", "Social Capital", "Human Capital", "Other Networking". For the purposes of the regression analysis, responses were recoded into a binary variable: "Social Capital" and "Other". The "Other" category includes "Human Capital", "Other (forms of aid)", "Not Employed/Not Applicable/No Response". Respondents were given a score of 1 if

## Appendix A2: Quality of Employment and Human Capital Measurements

### Dependent Variables: Quality of Employment Index

**Item One:** Professional/Managerial* (Binary Variable)
**Item Two:** Full-Time/Part-Time Status (Binary Variable)
**Item Three:** Permanent/Temporary Status (Binary Variable)
**Item Four:** Received Promotion(s) (Binary Variable)
**Item Five:** Over-qualified for Occupation (Binary Variable)
**Item Six:** Satisfied with Occupation (Binary Variable)

Respondents scored one point each if they had a professional or managerial position, if they were in a full-time, permanent job, if they received a promotion, and if they believed they were not over-qualified for and were satisfied with their current occupation.

*Professional and managerial occupations are considered higher in status than non-professional positions because of various objective indicators, such as higher income levels, greater benefits, a greater chance of permanent, long-term employment, and greater opportunities for career advancement.

### Independent Variables: Human Capital Upon Arrival

***1. Professional/Managerial Employment in Home Country (Binary Variable)***

A score of 1 was given to refugees who were employed in a managerial or professional position while the remaining respondents received a score of 0.

***2. Educational Status Upon Arrival (6 categories)***

0 - No Schooling
1 - Elementary (Grades 1-6) - Incomplete/Complete
2 - Junior High (Grades 7-9) - Incomplete/Complete
3 - Senior High (Grades 10-11) - Incomplete
4 - Senior High (Grade 12) - Complete
5 - Non-University (vocational/technical/nursing) and University - Incomplete
6 - Non-University and University (Diploma/Certificate) - Complete
7 - Bachelors/Masters - Complete
8 - Professional Degree or Doctorate - Complete

Scores ranged from 0, indicating no schooling, to 8 indicating a professional-level training.

***3. English Language Status: # of hours in ESL/LINC Training (4 categories)***

0 - No training
1 - 1 to 6 months of training
2 - 7 to 12 months of training
3 - More than one year of training

Scores ranged from 0, indicating no English language training, to 3 indicating more than one year of training.

***4. Training in Canada Upon Arrival: # of months of Training***

0 - No training in Canada
1 - up to 48 months of training

Scores ranged from 0, indicating no training, to 48 months of training obtained in Canada.